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A STATEMENT

FOR

NON-EXCLUSION

...BY...

PATRICK J. HEALY and NG POON CHEW

SAN FRANCISCO
November 1905

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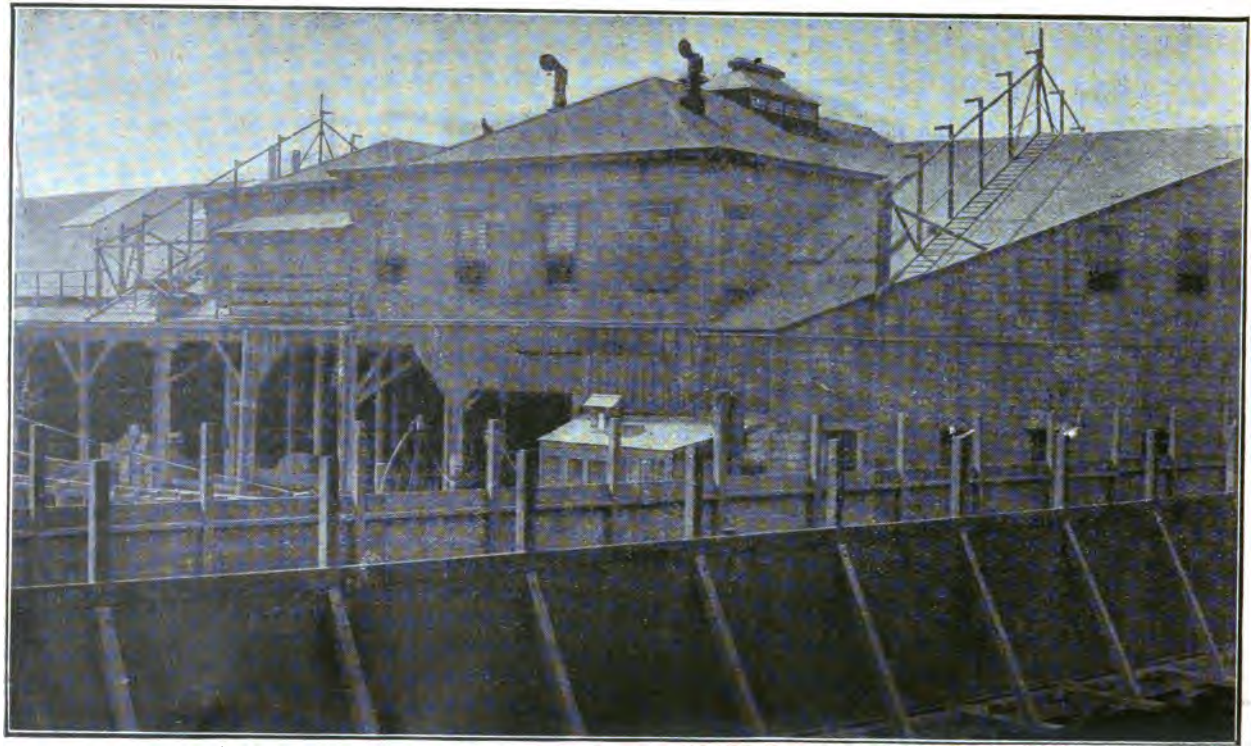

CHINESE DETENTION SHED SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

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INTRODUCTION

Why Did You Do So?

To give a satisfactory answer to this query is the burden of every foreword, prelude or preface that has been prefixed to books since the first writer conceived of this method of conciliating his readers. The question is legitimate. The reader should be informed at a glance, if possible, why he is called upon in this busy age to wade through another volume of printed matter.

This fragmentary and incomplete statement makes no pretension to literary workmanship. It is at best a compilation, and the reader will readily notice that the portions which are culled, are by far the best in construction and the most forcible in argument. There is no excuse offered for giving the American people another argument, howsoever feeble it may be, for the preservation of constitutional liberty wherever our flag is unfurled and our jurisdiction recognized. It is impossible to preserve the integrity of a government like ours if we deny to any class in our community the equal protection of the laws. Therefore this statement is to demonstrate the necessity of returning to first principles, and to show that the justice which we mete out to others may in turn be administered to ourselves. This paper is called for at this time in the hope that it may dispel the crass ignorance which is alleged to prevail upon this subject, in the fens of New Jersey and in the mountain regions of New England, part of the territory, no doubt, which Mr. Gompers had in mind when he caused the following sentence to be printed:

"The pro-Chinese element in this country depends in a large measure upon the general ignorance that prevails east of the Rocky Mountains as to the merits or demerits of exclusion."

The general distribution of this paper may educate, and to some extent contribute even, to the enlightenment of the followers of Mr. Gompers. The candid and unprejudiced reader will find in these pages information of undoubted authenticity, such as few people believe exists.

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The chapters that are devoted to the recital of outrages that were perpetrated upon our helpless "yellow brethren" during the early history of the State of California show a disgraceful condition of civilization, which, we pray, is haply passing away. The reader will find here a sketch of the present Anti-Asiatic exclusion crusade from its embryonic state, through its complete growth and development. It will be seen how we, the favored residents of this Pacific Coast, manufacture grievances to order; and how successful we have been heretofore in making the rest of our countrymen believe that we were suffering from the invasion of an insidious foe, which was constantly forcing his services upon us in spite of our most determined efforts to discourage him. No attempt is made to reply to the various specific charges that have been filed against the Chinese. The time was too short; and the statements made by the present day exclusionists are so unreasonable, so ill-digested and so contradictory, that they usually are answered by each other or are unworthy of serious consideration.

The charges of immorality and non-assimilation which are constantly urged against the Asiatic have not been discussed here, for the reason that most of those who are loudest in making such charges are the very people who have no morals to boast of and who are doing all in their power to hinder the assimilation which they allege to be impossible.

Much of the space in this paper has been given to refute the economic arguments of the exclusionists; for if it can be shown that the American people have not been injured in matters of dollars and cents by the presence of the stranger within our gates, nearly all the other charges will have little weight with practical people. The attention of the California reader is specially called to the statistics of the manufacturing industries of this city which were popularly supposed to be controlled by Chinese cheap labor. Those statistics were printed in this present form nearly four years ago; but no Promotion Committee nor Manufacturers' Association of this State thought them worthy of notice. I have dwelt upon the necessity of conciliating the Chinese people, if for no higher reason than that we may retain the Chinese market for the disposal of our surplus products. In this regard let us hope that the good sense of the American people will not allow an

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irresponsible trade union to so shape legislation that it will be detrimental to that large body of people who in the nature of things cannot be organized and make a concerted demand for special privileges.

It should be the function of government to look after the interest of this large, important, though unprotected class of unorganized toilers, who are constantly pillaged by the insidious methods of organized predatory combinations.

If, in placing the numerous extracts from newspapers, state documents and the speeches of California statesmen there is not logical order or historic continuity, the undersigned is blame-worthy. When this document was nearly completed it was decided to change the arrangement of the chapters, and this has marred the attempt at chronological order which was intended at the outset. For the arrangement of this statement into chapters and for the patient work in exhuming the many instances of outrages from the daily newspapers, I am indebted to the labors of Mr. NG POON CHEW, Managing Editor of *Chung Sai Yat Po,* a Chinese daily paper. Indeed, without the efficient aid of Mr. Chew, this paper could not be given to the public at this time; and for this reason I am pleased to associate his name with my own on the title page. I have to thank Dr. David Starr Jordan of the Stanford University and Professor Fryer of the University of California for the use that has been made of their papers on this subject. And I also acknowledge my obligation to the daily press of San Francisco, as well as to the custodians of the Library of the State University and of the San Francisco Free Public Library.

To those who would read more of the argument that can be made in support of reciprocity with the Chinese and of freedom of exchange with all nations, I recommend "Progress and Poverty", from the pages of which I have received nearly all that is of value in this paper not enclosed by quotation marks. As it is possible that this compilation may be revised and reissued, the compiler desires that those to whom it may come will forward any criticisms or advice which in their estimation would make this statement more complete.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

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"God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."—*Acts 17:26.*

"All men within the four seas are brethern."—*Confucius.*

OUR EARLY CONTACT WITH CHINA AND THE CHINESE.

The casual reader who thinks that our relations with China and the Chinese began here in California at the time of the discovery of gold may be reminded that we sent ships to China for tea during the Revolutionary War, and that the desire of the English Colonists in North America to get tea at reasonable rates was one of the contributing causes which led to the Revolution and finally to our Independence.

When the Colonists refused to use tea brought from England the loss to the East India Company was so great that it was threatened with bankruptcy. It could not pay its debts and its stock went down to half its former value. At the suggestion of Lord North, Parliament authorized the company to ship its tea to America without previously paying the duty in England.

The Colonists determined that tea should not be brought to this country. This seems to have been the first application of the "Boycott" on American soil.

As soon as the war was ended, our people hastened to engage for themselves in the rich trade with China. The ship Empress, commanded by Captain Green, left New York for Canton on the anniversary of the birthday of General Washington, February 22, 1784. The development of our trade with China has been in a remarkable and very important manner connected with that of our national territory, and of our internal trade and prosperity.

The early voyages to the territory of Oregon, the pioneer settlement of John Jacob Astor, and the knowledge gained by our merchants and trappers on the Pacific Coast in the prosecution of this fur trade with China, led in the end to the

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colonization of Oregon and California, and to the magnificent results which have followed in later years through the discovery of gold.

The Sandwich Islands was an important way station in that trade, as it was an important stopping place for the old New Bedford whalers, when that industry was in its prime. Thus it can be shown that the history of the American people is inseparably connected with the commerce of China, and that it was through that commerce that we became acquainted with the value of the territory lying west of the Rocky Mountains. The mention of Captain Green and the ship Empress will no doubt recall to the reader the names of the old Merchant, Princess of Salem, and Boston,—the Astors, Girards, Russels, Sears, Heards, Olyphants, Perkins, Jardines, Coolidges, Sturgis, and many others.

The United States was represented in the China trade and in Chinese waters by these men long before we had a treaty with the Ta Tsing Empire.

While the names just mentioned were a guaranty for honorable mercantile transactions, we have had other traders in Chinese waters who were little better than pirates. Prior to the "Opium War" the United States was not represented in the Chinese seas with any great evidence of naval force. In the spring of 1842, Commodore Lawrence Kearney, in command of the East India squadron, visited China and attempted to settle the grievances of some of our merchants while incidentally looking for treaty privileges for his Government from the Chinese authorities. The letters of Commodore Kearney and of Commissioner Ke are worth reproducing, as they are probably the earliest official documents which begin to tell the story of our commercial relations with China that are in print or accessible to the general reader. Commodore Kearney, like all the United States commanders in the Pacific and Indian seas, had at that early day an important duty to perform for his Government.

His letters to the Secretary of the Navy show that after visiting King Selim of the Island of Johanna, the Rajahs of Quallah-Battoo, of Soo-Loo and of Muckie, he got around to Macao, where he found a copy of the Hong Kong *Gazette*, which mentioned the name of an American vessel that was engaged in carrying opium. The Commodore wrote to the

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United States Consul at Canton, assuring that official that the United States did not sanction the "smuggling of opium" in Chinese waters under the American flag "in violation of the laws of China."

The "Opium War" being over, Commodore Kearney asked the Chinese authorities for a treaty between the Empire of China and the Government of the United States, mildly suggesting that the same trade privileges that were granted to Great Britain should also be granted to the United States Government. The letter to Ke Kung, Governor-General, etc., is a paper that cannot be ignored by any student of our relations with China. The reply of Ke Kung is also a document worthy of study. They are herewith printed.

Macao Road, April 13, 1843.

Kearny, commodore of the ships of war, and directing his country's affair in China, hereby explains more particularly regarding your excellency's former communication, in which were some expressions respecting the trade and unsettled business between the two countries.

The commodore is led to believe, that your excellency has misapprehended the meaning of his communication of last October, and in your excellency's communication of the 17th ultimo, which the commodore has received and which he has carefully read, he concludes that your excellency supposes him to have received extensive powers from his own Government—able to manage the weightiest affairs and qualified to settle a treaty with the Imperial Commissioner, which, after being ratified by his Imperial Majesty, shall become a permanent treaty between our two countries. I, the commodore, perceiving your excellency cherishing this good feeling, have already respectfully memorialized my sovereign fully regarding it. If, however, his Imperial Majesty will declare his will on this point, my country will no doubt rejoin to it in the same spirit of amity, and straight return an answer, and send a high officer to China, who, in connection with the Imperial Commission, will deliberate and settle a permanent treaty of lasting peace and friendship. But to commence this good thing, to open this road of mutual benefit, belongs to his Imperial Majesty of China; for, to take that which will highly benefit another country, and beg

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that country's favor to permit, is rather demeaning one's self and honoring another. America is a highly prosperous and great country, and needs to ask no favor of another country.

Regarding his communication of last October, the commodore requested your excellency to inform his Imperial Majesty that his countrymen at present living in China ought to be treated with kindness and their rights regarded as they properly ought to be. If your excellency, on reading these words, inferred that the commodore was begging a favor from China, then your excellency was undoubtedly mistaken, for no such thing was meant. Moreover, his own country would not allow him to do any act derogatory to the high honor of either country. It is, rather, the desire of the commodore always to obey his own country's high commands, and in any case to advise as to the means of attaining national benefits does not appertain to him. But if he can be the means, although for a short time, of procuring these great benefits for the trade of his country, it will afford him the highest pleasure. If the Governments of America and China fully know the Imperial will, all difficulty will in future be prevented, for the laws of his country forbid all interference in the internal policy of other countries, and therefore China need have no apprehension of subsequent difficulties arising. But there are persons in all countries who, grasping for gain and to benefit themselves alone, never regard the national honor; they scheme for profit and in all ways transgress laws, trampling down all obstacles in their path, are of this sort; those, too, who, by gaining great profit, are getting their living, it is well known, belong to the same class. The commodore has no other object besides maintaining peace and quietness for his countrymen trading here legally, and if others are seized by the Imperial cruisers in the act of smuggling opium into China, then let them be judged and sentenced according to law.

Your excellency's kind expression in former communication has been received with gratitude, "That his countrymen have been observant of the laws contented more than any other nation's merchants with their trade." The commodore has sincere pleasure in respectfully reporting this testimony to his sovereign.

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What course may be pursued in future, and how long the peace and trade can be maintained, rests with the Emperor, and also whether his countrymen can trade here on the same terms with the merchants of other countries, is a very weighty matter, and he requests your excellency to examine, for if it cannot be equally permitted it will cause much unfriendly feeling in his own country.

The commodore also avails of this communication again to say that what his Imperial Majesty grants to the traders from other countries his own sovereign will demand for his merchants. And so to prevent any subsequent difficulties, your excellency will readily perceive that, in order to negotiate a permanent treaty between two countries, and settle the terms of amity and friendship, the sovereigns of both countries ought to appoint high officers to negotiate thereon, and settle the terms of a lasting treaty, which would be a great benefit.

Your excellency's former communication has been received, in which the time of the Hong merchants to pay the losses of his countrymen was fixed in the second decade of the 4th month. His countrymen, regarding this time as very long, have respectfully sent to me, requesting that the high officers would order the Hong merchants to pay these losses immediately, according to the accounts already rendered. The commodore knows that your excellency will not allow this trifling matter of trade to be the cause of future embarrassment, and he therefore requests your excellency at once to order the Hong merchants to pay it. Besides settling the matter of these losses, the commodore has no further business, and thus to be delayed by your excellency he cannot regard with pleasant feelings. His countrymen's property was plundered by a mob, and because the high officers thus delay to repay their losses the commodore has already remained in Canton three months alone. He cannot, therefore, again bring this business before your excellency, but must respectfully memorialize his own sovereign regarding the whole matter, from beginning to end.

The commodore has now no other business in China, and only awaits your excellency's reply to return home.

With sentiment of high consideration, etc., etc.

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To his excellency Ke, Governor General of Kwangtung and Kwangse.

Ke Kung, minor guardian of the heir apparent, president of the board of war, and Governor General of the province of Kwangtung and Kwangse, hereby returns an answer:

I have received your communication, with which I have made myself fully acquainted. The various particulars relating to the commercial duties to be paid by each country are all to be regulated uniformly by one rule, without the least partiality manifested toward any one. As to what duties are to be increased and what diminished, or what perquisites are to be retained and what done away with, are, as your excellency no doubt knows, at present matters of public and equitable negotiation with the English. We are waiting the arrival of the Imperial Commission to conclude the negotiation, and after they have been laid before his Majesty and approved they will pass into force in a uniform manner for every country. They will not enable the English alone to derive advantage therefrom, while other countries are still restricted in their trade.

His Imperial Majesty's commands have already been received, permitting the English to carry on trade at the newly opened ports of Fuchau-foo, Ningpoo and Shanghai, but whether other countries will be in the same manner allowed to trade here, I, the Governor, cannot presume here to decide upon. It will be necessary to await the arrival of the Imperial Commissioner, who will lay all the circumstances before his Majesty and request instruction how to act.

Respecting the matter of a treaty, upon which you remark, it is well known that your honorable country is amicable and well disposed in the highest degree; but during the two hundred years of intercourse between China and other countries there has never been an interchange of treaties. Recently, indeed, because we and the English have been in collision for successive years, and the two parties mutually distrust each other, a treaty of peace was mutually drawn up in order to remove all suspicion and jealousy. This solely arose because harmony did not exist. But if our countries carry on trade as usual there will, of course, be peace between us, and no formal compact will be necessary in addition. It would be

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an unnecessary and circuitous act. I beg your excellency to consider upon this matter and see if it be not so.

Respecting the remuneration to American merchants for their property lost, I have transmitted urgent order to the Hong merchants to have it ready for delivery at the time appointed in the fourth month, according to the amount agreed on. That time will speedily be here, nor shall the matter be delayed any longer than that time.

To his excellency the American Commander.

Canton, Tao, Kwang, 23rd year, 3rd moon, 17th day (April 16, 1843).

True translation.

S. W. WILLIAMS.

In the confusion incident to the attack of Canton by the British forces in 1841, several American merchants took to their boats to a place of safety. The Chinese authorities say that these merchants did not hoist the American flag to indicate their nationality, and consequently the Chinese, thinking that they were British, fired upon them. The demands of the sufferers, however, were paid by the Chinese Government. In a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, dated September 23, 1842, Commodore Kearney notified his Government that peace was restored in China and transmitted the clauses of the treaty exacted by the British from the Emperor of China. The letters of Commodore Kearney to the American Vice-Consul Sturgis at Macao, and also his letter to the Secretary of the Navy, dated May 19, 1843, prove conclusively that many Americans were at that time engaged in the opium trade in Chinese waters. The reader who may desire to follow the subject further is referred to Senate document 139, 1st session, 29th Congress.

The letter of Commodore Kearney and the letter of President John Tyler introducing Caleb Cushing to the Emperor of China are documents that deserve more than a passing notice. Both letters are written as if we were writing to the chief of some savage tribe, who needed to be reminded of our greatness, our size, the length of our rivers, the height of our mountains—in a word they suggest the "Me big Indian" style of speech which appeals to the primitive type of

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intellect. Here follows "your good friend" John Tyler's letter:

"I, John Tyler, President of the United States of America —which States are Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, and Michigan—send you this letter of peace and friendship, signed by my own hand.

"I hope your health is good. China is a great Empire, extending over a great part of the world. The Chinese are numerous. You have millions and millions of subjects. The twenty-six United States are as large as China, though our people are not so numerous. The rising sun looks upon the great mountains and great rivers of China. When he sets he looks upon rivers and mountains equally large in the United States. Our territories extend from one great ocean to the other; and on the west we are divided from your dominions only by the sea. Leaving the mouth of one of our great rivers and going constantly toward the setting sun we sail to Japan and to the Yellow Sea.

"Now, my words are that the governments of two such great countries should be at peace. It is proper, and according to the will of heaven, that they should respect each other and act wisely. I therefore send to your court Caleb Cushing, one of the wise and learned men of this country. On his first arrival in China he will inquire for your health. He has strict orders to go to your great city of Peking and there to deliver this letter. He will have with him secretaries and interpreters.

"The Chinese love to trade with our people and to sell them tea and silk, for which our people pay silver, and sometimes other articles. But if the Chinese and the Americans will trade there should be rules, so that they shall not break your laws or our laws. Our minister, Caleb Cushing, is authorized to make a treaty to regulate trade. Let it be just. Let there be no unfair advantage on either side. Let the people trade not only at Canton, but also at Amoy, Ningpoo, Shanghai, Fuchau, and all such other places as may offer profitable exchanges both to China and the United States,

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provided they do not break your laws nor our laws. We shall not take the part of evildoers. We shall not uphold them that break your laws. Therefore, we doubt not that you will be pleased that our messenger of peace, with this letter in his hand, shall come to Peking, and there deliver it; and that your great officers will, by your order, make a treaty with him to regulate affairs of trade, so that nothing may happen to disturb the peace between China and America. Let the treaty be signed by your own imperial hand. It shall be signed by mine, by the authority of our great council, the Senate.

"And so may your health be good and may peace reign.

"Written at Washington, this twelfth of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

"Your good friend,

(Signed) "JOHN TYLER,

"President."

The treaty that followed "good friend" John Tyler's letter gave us all the commercial rights in China which the English received as a result of their prowess in arms.

This coming-in after the fight was over has been our habit in China. An old Chinese mandarin is said to have called us "Second-class Englishmen." We have always assumed the high moral attitude in China, assuring the people that we wanted none of their territory, only the right to buy teas, silks and other things, for which our people desired to "pay silver and sometimes other articles."

It is not the purpose of this paper to give a history of the commercial relations existing between China and the United States, nor to mention any of the questionable transactions in which United States officers have indulged while in the China Seas. This notice of the mission of Commodore Kearney is merely an introduction to a very interesting subject and may be an incentive to the reader to seek further information. Mr. Ira M. Condit says, in "The Chinaman as We See Him," that "the brig 'Eagle' arrived in San Francisco in February, 1848, with two Chinese men and one Chinese woman on board. This was the advance guard of the Chinese to our coast." The discovery of gold in the raceway of Captain Sutter's sawmill on the American Fork was the

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magnet that attracted not only the Chinamen but thousands of other daring immigrants to our shores. Mr. Gompers, in his pamphlet "Meat *vs.* Rice," says: "In the early settlement of the State (California) * * * when mining was the chief industry, and labor, by reason of its scarcity, well paid, the presence of a few thousand Chinese who were willing to work in occupations then seriously in want of labor, and at lower wages than the standard, caused no serious alarm or discomfort." So the Chinamen proceeded to grow the food that was necessary for those who worked in the mines, and where there was any attempt at civilized life in the "diggins" it was only possible by the employment of the patient Chinamen. The natural wealth of the country was free of access to every one and monopoly was not thought of in any industry, so the more there was produced the more there was to distribute, and the cheaper the Chinamen worked, the less of the precious metal it required to retain his services. Thus civilization was possible in the very early days of the California mines. Many writers refer to the services rendered by the Chinese in those early times, and there is a general agreement that his labor was a blessing.

How did it happen that his labor was not always considered a benefaction? Two causes are at the foundation of the white man's antagonism to the Chinaman in California—firstly, the monopolization of the land by the speculators, thus restricting freedom of access to mining ground; secondly, and in a minor way, the exhaustion of the phenomenal richness of the placers. When the miner was restricted in the freedom of his mining operation by the occupancy of another miner or the fence of the speculator he did not have the wisdom to reason about the true cause of his trouble, but immediately jumped at the conclusion that it was the "Heathen Chinee" that should be blamed for his misfortunes.

No doubt the usual mass meeting was called, and the inevitable demagogue appeared who saw and took advantage of the occasion to sow hatred and prejudice for his fellow man and to use these base traits in man's nature as stepping-stones for his own advancement.

As early as April, 1852, Hon. John Bigler, Governor of the State of California, sent a special message to the legislature on the Chinese question. Mr. Bigler endeavored to show that

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the whole Chinese population were "Coolies" and that they were here under contract. He claimed that the Chinese "do not seek our land as the asylum for the oppressed of all nations." The Governor cited the records of arrivals and departures of American ships to prove that there was danger of the State being inundated with contract coolie labor.

Like all social reformers, the Governor had a remedy, which reads as follows: "1st. Such an exercise of the taxing power of the State as will check the present system of indiscriminate and unlimited Asiatic immigration. 2nd. A demand by the State of California for the prompt interposition of Congress, by the passage of an Act prohibiting 'Coolies' shipped to California under contracts, from laboring in the mines of this State. With the consent of the State, Congress would have a clear right to interpose such safeguards as in their wisdom might be deemed necessary. The power to tax as well as to entirely exclude this class of Asiatic immigrants it is believed can be constitutionally exercised by the State."

"As the subject is one of great magnitude, I have deemed it my duty to examine the opinions of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States."

Governor Bigler was an extreme advocate of "States rights." This message was in harmony with the Foreign Miners' Tax, which was collected mostly from Chinese miners. This Foreign Miners' Tax was of such importance in the early history of the State that many districts depended upon it to meet the expenses of the education of the children within their limits. In 1855, it amounted to $150,000.00. Mr. Bigler seems to have had some misgivings as to the reciprocal and friendly character of his remedy, for we find the following sentence in his message: "The measures which I have now recommended you to enact would not of course justify any retaliation by Chinese upon Americans residing in that country." I think that the disinterested reader will be forced to disagree with the conclusions of the Governor upon the point last quoted. A special committee was appointed to report upon the Governor's Anti-Coolie Message; and while the committee agreed with its general tenor, they recommended a remedy of their own. Among other things, the committee said that "Your committee would not recommend the adoption of any policy which would disturb the harmo-

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nious relations now so happily existing between this country and China. Our nation looks forward with animating hope to an extension of that commerce."

"It is destined to be the means of enriching us, and giving a commanding supremacy on the broad Pacific. Our example and influence may become the means of Christianizing the heathen nations with which we may have intercourse, and of spreading among them the enterprise and advancing spirit of the age in which we live. Through our influence the lights of Christianity and of Science, the genius of Republicanism, shall be cast back to illume the dark spots in the Eastern hemisphere where Science once blazed, but where Superstition now in triumph reigns."

It will be seen that the committee took the matter seriously; that they appreciated the high and, we might say, sacred relation in which they stood towards their heathen brethren of the land of Sinim. They go on and say that "Your Committee believe the permanent peace, prosperity and happiness of the State, and the rights of her citizens, and the true dignity of white laborers among us all conspire to forbid the immigration among us. They cannot become citizens. They cannot be slaves in the State under the constitution. We want no subordinate grades in a *free* State where all should be free men. Then labor will be honored and every operative be a freeman."

But many thousands are already among us; if not invited here, at least encouraged to come. We cannot recommend any harsh measure; a mild yet efficient policy should be adopted. As the inducement in the mines led them to come here, we should at once exclude all Chinamen from the mines working on their account or for others. This your Committee believe is a measure, constitutional, just and imperatively demanded by the people. If this policy be adopted, and all contracts for servitude under which they came to the State, be declared void, they will seek their native home. For a reasonable time they should have the privilege of remaining under the protection of the laws. But if they do not then leave the State, all who prefer to remain should be required to give surety for their good conduct and against becoming a public charge to the State."

The hypocritical character of at least one member of that

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"select committee"—Mr. J. J. Warner, who urged that by our example we may become the means of "Christianizing the heathen nations"—is made manifest by reference to the proceedings of the California State Senate, March 18, 1852, when Mr. Warner moved as an amendment to a resolution dealing with the public domain, mineral lands, etc., the following: "Resolved, That our Senators in Congress are instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their influence and exertions to procure by the act of General Government the removal of all the Indians from the territory embraced within the jurisdiction of this State at the earliest practical moment."

To the credit of humanity and his fellow members of the Senate, Mr. Warner's amendment was not agreed to. The committee reported a bill to carry out their recommendations.

In the same legislature there was a select committee on a "Senate bill for an act to enforce contracts and obligations to perform work and labor."

Mr. Philip A. Roach made a minority report on that bill, in which the following paragraphs are found:—

"Our State thus far has presented to the world the unprecedented example of labor, without any special legislation in its favor, and left perfectly free to find its reward, with the few but just regulations made by the workingmen themselves; creating within a few years a greater amount of wealth than the industry of any other people produced during the same period.

"The system which has led to this result, and which has invited to our shores the enterprising and industrious of all nations, if left free to its own operation, must continue to produce the same developments which have already marked our history, and which have added immense wealth to the capital of the world, while it has raised the thousands who have produced it to comfort and independence."

Generous Mr. Roach did not see that the poor and abused Chinaman who worked in the humblest capacity for his Caucasian brother was a necessary factor in the production of this "comfort and independence", and that it was not only the rankest ingratitude to single him out as an object of hostile legislation, but also a specimen of ignorant and vicious political economy.

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Mr. Roach, in the following paragraph, throws more light on the situation in "early days":—

"Thus far, the mines have been open and free to the labor of the world, and they have been so productive that hardly a law has been needed for their regulation. This state of things has assembled in California people of every race and clime—of every tongue and creed—some entitled to work our mines upon the same terms as our own people, for reciprocal justice gave them the right to claim it, while others were edtitled to no such privilege; yet they formed, perhaps, a majority of the foreign miners, and drew from our soil a greater quantity of the precious metals than our own citizens."

Mr. Roach goes on to show how persecution and injustice commenced. He says:—

"This led to the cry that foreigners, as such, ought to be taxed; and as a concession to public clamor, a law, unjust, unconstitutional and indiscriminating, was passed, prohibiting foreign miners without a license from working upon lands belonging to the United States; whereas, by the solemn faith of our Government as pledged by treaty stipulations, various people have as much right to work those lands as to breathe the air in which we live.

"The effect of this law increased in no manner the productions of our own citizens, while in the trading towns it had a serious and injurious effect upon commerce."

It will be remembered that Mr. Roach's report related to "an act to enforce contracts," etc., which act was supposed to be in the interest of large employers of labor.

He further says that "with 'free mines' for every one to work them the wages of labor have kept at a higher rate than was paid in any of the Atlantic States, and its effect has been to bring here thousands from every State in the Union. No law, therefore, ought to be passed giving any one the command of labor at lower rates, or for longer terms, or with greater power than now prevails."

Mr. Roach came very near the true source of California's prosperity at that period. If he had written, "Free access to the land, the source of all wealth," instead of merely "free mines for every one" (except the Chinese), he would have come nearer to the kernel of the matter.

Mr. Roach was a believer in class labor, and in class rule,

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for that matter, as the following will prove: "No indiscriminate prohibitions should be made against foreigners, as such, for the governments of many of those whom we might desire to exclude place American citizens upon an equality with themselves.

Speaking upon the possibility of a labor contract law, Mr. Roach goes on to say that—

"It cannot be expected that a law of this character shall be passed, opening every branch of labor to a competition which exists only by virtue of the law, without directing that it shall only be lawful to employ such laborers in industrial pursuits not followed by our people.

"There is ample field for it. Employment in draining the swamp lands, in cultivating rice, raising silk, or planting tea. Our State is supposed to have great natural advantages for those objects; but, if these present not field enough for their labor, then sugar, cotton, and tobacco invite their attention."

"For these special objects," continues Mr. Roach, "I have no objection to the introduction of the contract laborers, provided that they are excluded from citizenship; for those staples cannot be cultivated without 'cheap labor'; but from all other branches I would recommend its exclusion.

"I do not want to see Chinese or Kanaka carpenters, masons, or blacksmiths, brought here in swarms under contracts to compete with our own mechanics, whose labor is as honorable and as well entitled to social and political rights as the pursuits designated 'learned professions.' "

Mr. Roach ended his report with a free rendering of a quotation from Jefferson, which seems in strange juxtaposition with the rest of his sentiments: "Is there no home on earth for suffering humanity? Shall we deny to those who fly from persecution the asylum which the redmen of the wilderness granted to our fathers?"

Strange how prone we are to steal the livery of heaven and use it to reduce the limits of human freedom!

In 1852, the Surveyor-General of California reported that there were 93,622,400 acres of land within the limits of the State; 52,000,000 of this great domain were classified as mineral land or unfit for agriculture. Governor Bigler estimated that there were 20,000 Chinese in California, and that they were distributed all over the State. It would seem at

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this distance of time that 20,000 Chinese could be easily lost in the 52,000,000 acres of mining land and that there would be a few acres left for Mr. Roach's suffering humanity who came here to avoid persecution in their own countries, but who hardly got a foothold on this soil before they were ready to persecute others.

In 1855, Governor Bigler devoted five pages of his annual message to "Asiatic immigration." He quoted the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, made and used to prop up slavery and to limit human freedom. A select committee was appointed to grapple with the subject of "foreign miners," a legal euphemism which meant Chinese laborers. A few paragraphs from the report of the majority of the committee will indicate their point of view. After referring to many decisions of the United States Courts, which related to the *status* of peoples whose skin was not legally determined to be "white," they speak as follows:—

"The direct question at issue is between the American laborer on one side and the Chinese laborer and capitalist on the other. The American laborer claims the exclusive *privilege* and right of occupying the immense placers of our State. They look upon the mines as being the just inheritance of the *laboring poor* of America, and the only class of laborers that they are willing to admit to any participation of this rich inheritance with them are those of kindred lands whom they can receive as brothers. They ask us to protect them from the immense hordes of Asia, who, like the locust of Egypt, leave nought but desolation in their path. If this class of foreigners are excluded from the mines, our own laboring classes will for a long series of years have the advantage of capitalists.

"Our laborers wish to keep up the value of their toil to a fair standard of competition *among themselves,* but you allow capitalists to import Chinese labor upon them and the equilibrium is destroyed, capital is triumphant, and the laboring poor of America must submit to the unholy sacrifice. The majority of your committee believe that the interests of our people, the good of society, and sound policy, all demand prompt and *decisive* action on the part of the Legislature to arrest the further progress of the great social and political

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evils resulting from the admission of the Asiatic races into our mines."

The foregoing paragraphs prove conclusively that the white American laborers of fifty years ago were fully as selfish and as ignorant of the resources that lay at their hands as are their brethren who are shouting for exclusion today. The rich mining lands that were to furnish them their "just inheritance for a long series of years" they allowed to be alienated from them without making a single effort to keep them free of access to "the laboring poor of America." They alleged that they wished to keep up the value of their toil to a fair standard of competition among themselves, forgetting that all the misery and poverty that is rife today among the white laboring poor is not brought about by the competition of the Asiatic, but by the competition among themselves of the Caucasian laborers. When the public domain of California was capable of supporting all the white laborers in the United States the white laborers of California did not have sense enough to enact laws to keep this magnificent heritage free for the "laboring poor of America."

It may safely be stated that if all the land in California was thrown open to free settlement today, the trades unionists have not shown sufficient capacity in managing their affairs to justify us in believing that they would devise laws which would prevent its reversion, as rapidly as it did before, into the possession of speculators or into the hands of those who hold it out of legitimate economic use. This proposition is proved by the fact that in all the long years of their existence they have never attempted to obtain the passage of a law that would virtually give them more freedom of access to the soil than the white workers claimed that they had in 1855.

The excuse for the exclusion of the Chinese fifty years ago was that they worked the wornout placers and got something out of them after they were given up as exhausted by the proud Caucasian; today the reason is not that they are rushing to the worked-out mines, but that they are taking the bread out of the mouths of the poor shoemakers or are threatening to invade the field that has long been held by the plumber and the thirty-three other kinds of mechanics whose services the trade unionists declare are necessary in the construction of a modern American house.

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The next report on the relations of the Chinese to the industries of this State is found in the proceedings of the Thirteenth Session of the California Legislature. This document is entitled the "Report of the Joint Select Committee Relative to the Chinese Population of the State of California." The greater part of that report is given here, for the reason that it is the first State document that gives anything like a fair statement as to the employment of the Chinese throughout the State, the probable profits of their labors in the mines, their necessity and utility in the establishment of manufactures, the outrages that have been perpetrated in extorting unlawful taxes from them, and the hopes that were entertained by the committee of the benefits that would result to this country from the new line of "mail steamers which will enable us to become better acquainted with this wonderful people."

REPORT.

Mr. President: The joint select committee of the Legislature, which was appointed to confer with the Chinese merchants of this State, and to report the result of said conference to the Legislature, together with such views as bear upon the legality of admitting and the influence of a permanent Chinese population amongst us, beg leave to submit the following report:

Your committee has had several interviews with the leading Chinese merchants of this city, and found them to be men of intelligence, ability and cultivation, who kindly and promptly met our many inquiries in a spirit and with an urbanity that left upon our minds favorable impressions.

They placed us in possession of a mass of statistics respecting the industry and the value of the labors of their countrymen to this State, which we here present.

These statements surprise us, and we feel confident they will deeply interest you and our constituents, and it will be well to ponder them before any action shall be proposed that will have a tendency to disturb so important an interest and drive from our State a class of foreigners so peaceful, industrious and useful.

From the information which we derived from the merchants and from examination of their data, we put down the

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Chinese population in the State at this time at about fifty thousand. The merchants, from their books, where they keep an accurate account of arrivals, departures and deaths of their countrymen, say there are forty-eight thousand three hundred and nineto-one; that there are engaged in mining about thirty thousand; in farming about twelve hundred, hired as laborers principally; in washing and ironing and as servants, they could not tell; that there are about two thousand traders. The number of Chinese prostitutes, they say, they cannot tell, as they have nothing to do with them. There are about two hundred families of respectability here; that is, married females, having families. They say that they think that about two hundred Chinese are employed in manufacture of cigars in this city.

Their estimates of the numbers in the various branches of industry in the State, they say, may not be correct, as they have no control over the Chinese; they pursue whatever calling they choose and are as free as any persons in the State.

Upon this head your committee examined them at great length and in the most minute and careful manner, and your committee is satisfied that there is no system of slavery or coolieism amongst the Chinese in this State. If there is any proof going to establish the fact that any portion of the Chinese are imported into this State as slaves or coolies, your committee have failed to discover it.

The present law in force in regard to this class of population, in the opinion of your committee, imposes upon them quite as heavy burdens as they are able to bear, and in many instances far beyond their ability to stand up under.

Your committee trust that no more legislation will be had calculated to oppress and degrade this class of persons in our State.

The truth of many of the statements we have been able to verify from other and independent sources confirming their reliability.

STATISTICS FOR 1861.

Amount of duties paid by Chinese importers into the Custom House at this port was...$	500,000.00
Freight money paid to ships from China.....	180,683.00
Passage money paid to ships from China.....	382,000.00

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Head tax	7,556.00
Boat hire	4,767.00
Rent for stores and storage	370,000.00
Licenses, taxes, etc., in State	2,164,273.00
Commission paid auctioneers and brokers	20,396.00
Drayage in San Francisco	59,662.00
Teaming in the interior of State	360,000.00
Paid for American products in San Francisco	1,046,613.00
Paid for American products in State	4,953,387.00
Paid for fire insurance in the city	1,925.00
Paid for marine insurance in the city	33,647.00
Paid for steamboat fare to Sacramento city and Stockton	50,000.00
Paid for stage fare to and from the mines	250,000.00
Paid for steamboat up-river freights	80,000.00
*Water rates for Chinese miners	2,160,000.00
**Mining claims bought by Chinese miners	1,350,000.00
Total	$13,974,909.00

The data of many of these estimates of expenditure are kept by several of the Chinese companies with great minuteness and particularity, so that from these accounts we have been enabled to deduce average expenditure per head per annum.

From the above remarkable statistics, amounting to fourteen millions of dollars yearly, you will be able to form an idea of the value which this Chinese population and industry confers upon the State.

Dissect these various items and see what employment this "scourged race" gives to our ship owners, our water men, our real estate men, our merchants, draymen, teamsters, steamboat men, our stage owners with their hostlers and horses and blacksmiths and carriage makers, our farmers and cattle men—in short, nearly every branch of human industry and patronage.

And for this fourteen millions of dollars which we gather from the Chinese population what do we give in exchange? Mainly, thus far, the privilege to work in the mines, on bars, beds and gulch claims which have been abandoned by our

*Twenty thousand miners buy water at thirty cents per man per day.
**Fifteen thousand miners buy claims at twenty cents per man per day

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countrymen and other white men, because by their intelligence and skill they could find other diggings where they could do better. Such claims to all but the patient, moderate Chinese would otherwise have remained idle and unproductive.

In towns and cities we have washmen and cooks who to some extent compete with imported servants from Europe, and this is about the only competition which some fifty thousand peaceable, patient and industrious Chinese immigrants have thus far produced in California. Surely, if this declared evil were doubled or magnified tenfold it need not create alarm in the breasts of cautious and fearful citizens.

We have about eighty Chinamen working in the Mission woolen factory, which by reason of their cheap labor is able to find employment for some seventy white men. With high rates of labor this valuable enterprise could not be prosecuted in this State. Woolen manufactures should be especially encouraged by generous legislation.

Our climate is highly favorable to sheep raising, and it should be our study to find a home market for all the wool that can be grown here. Coarse blankets and coarse clothes are consumed upon this coast in unlimited quantities, and we shall soon find customers for stuff of finer quality. The raising of sheep and raising of wool could soon become an interest of vast value to the State. This interest yet to be created, infringing upon no existing class of labor, would afford occupation for thousands of Chinese, associated with as many more whites, and prove a mutual and public blessing

With cheap labor we could supply our own wines and liquors, besides sending large quantities abroad. The wine crop of France in 1849 was nine hundred and twenty-five million gallons, valued at one hundred millions of dollars. In 1853 she had in vineyards four million eight hundred and seventy-three thousand nine hundred and thirty-four acres (giving less than two hnudred gallons to the acre), making about eight thousand one hundred and seven square miles, or an area of two hundred and fifty miles in length by thirty-one in breadth. California contains one hundred and eighty-eight thousand nine hundred and eighty-one square miles, which would give one hundred and twenty-nine hundred and forty-seven thousand eight hundred and forty acres; so that

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if only one twenty-fifth of her area should be planted with vineyards she would have an amount equal to France.

We have a fresher soil, better climate for grape culture than France, and we could produce larger quantities of better quality than is grown in worn-out lands.

This cannot be done without the aid of cheap labor from some quarter, but a portion of Chinese with white labor would add incalculably to the resources of the State in this particular branch. It would also diminish drunkenness and consequent pauperism, thereby greatly diminishing crime and misery.

To the wine produced add the cost of pipes and bottles, the transportation and commissions on sales, and this wine and liquor interest would become second only to the mining and farming interests.

Turning from the grape, let us dwell a moment upon the production of rice, tea, sugar, tobacco and dried fruits of every description, such as figs, raisins, etc., etc., all of which can be easily grown in the State, and soon will be commenced if we encourage cheap labor from abroad to cultivate our waste luxuriant soil. It is industry which makes a people great, rich and powerful, and to our enterprise and resources we need but the willing hand of patient labor to make our young and great State the glory of our country and marvel of the world.

To develop her latent resources and vitalize all her powers we need sound, liberal, far-seeing legislators—men who can mould and harness all inferior races to work out and realize our grand and glorious destiny.

They work for us, they help build up our State by contributing largely to our taxes, to our shipping, farming and mechanical interests, without to any extent entering these departments as competitors; they are denied privileges equal with other foreigners; they cannot vote or testify in courts of justice, nor have a voice in making our laws, nor mingle with us in social life. Certainly we have nothing to fear from a race so contemned and restricted; on the contrary, those Chinamen who remain here are educated up to our standard.

When they leave us they carry the knowledge of our improvements home to their countrymen, and, although we must

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not look for miracles in a decade of years in changing the manners of any people, yet the business relations between California and Asia will do more to liberalize and Christianize those countries than the labor of all the missionaries throughout China. The Chinese are quick to see and ready to adopt any custom or thing that promises improvement.

Your committee was furnished with a list of eighty-eight Chinamen who are known to have been murdered by white people, eleven of which number are known to have been murdered by collectors of foreign minors' license tax—sworn officers of the law. But two of the murderers have been convicted and hanged. Generally they have been allowed to escape without the slightest punishment.

The above number of Chinese who have been robbed and murdered compose probably a very small proportion of those who have been murdered, but they are all which the records of the different societies or companies in this city show. It is a well-known fact that there has been a wholesale system of wrong and outrage practiced upon the Chinese population of this State, which would disgrace the most barbarous nation upon earth.

Instead of driving them out of the State, bounties might be offered them to cultivate the rice, tea, tobacco and other articles. Respecting rice, it will take considerable time and much labor on our tule lands before they can be made to produce a good crop of rice. Tea is another article requiring much experience, where Chinese labor could be productive of great benefit, without coming in competition with white labor.

Our Chinese importers paid, last year, duties at the Custom House amounting to five hundred thousand dollars. Tea, which was then admitted free, now pays twenty cents a pound duty, and there will be imported one million five hundred thousand pounds. The yearly import of rice is twenty-five million pounds, on which to additional duty over last year, will be one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. Sugar and China silks, and many other small articles, have been materially advanced by the existing tariff, so that, instead of collecting from the Chinese importers five thousand dollars, the same as last year, the duties now will amount to nearly, or quite, a million of dollars.

Remember our intercourse with China is but just opened;

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other nations are watching us with envious eyes. With our enterprise, we must combine justice and reciprocal interests. Our past conduct toward our Chinese residents has not inspired them with confidence in us. They wish to cultivate our friendship. A better class than we have yet seen would come to reside with us, if they could be assured of protection; but having no Consul here, and being unacquainted with our laws (although anxious to conform to them), they dare not bring capital to invest in the country in large amounts.

Let us legislate as becomes a great liberal, magnanimous people. Let us manifest our superiority by kindness. We are but on the opening of those mighty rivers which support four hundred millions of people. With the unequaled resources of our own matchless State, and the unequaled enterprises of modern times with a prudence and intelligence that shall crown our efforts with countless wealth and national renown.

If a partial Providence has endowed us with the talents let us use them to gain other ten; and let us infuse into our benighted neighbors the blessings of that higher and purer civilization which we feel we were destined to establish over the whole earth.

R. F. PERKINS
(Chairman Senate Committee),
O. HARVEY,
G. K. PORTER,
JOHN E. BENTON
(Chairman Assembly Committee),
G. W. SEATON,
W. W. BATTLES.

San Francisco, March 11th, 1862.

From 1862 to 1870 not much organized opposition to the Chinese existed in this State. Those who took interest in what is called "Organized Labor" and who lived in the city of San Francisco in the early seventies, will remember General A. M. Winn. He was a pioneer of this State, and at one time Mayor of Sacramento. He was probably a man of some means, as he gave most of his time to the management of the "Mechanics' State Council," a sort of pioneer Federation of Labor minus its national affiliation. The General was a born organizer, a plausible speaker, with a knack of

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getting elected to preside at public meetings, and a faculty for getting the greatest possible publicity for the schemes he was engaged in. He was early attracted to the Anti-Coolie Movement, and the Mechanics' State Council, of which he was President, passed the usual buncombe resolutions denouncing the Asiatic and eulogizing the free American laborer. The Council also printed and distributed one of Governor Bigler's Anti-Coolie Messages.

On July 15th, 1870, a great Anti-Chinese Convention was held in the Mechanics' Pavilion. General Winn presided, and authorized the sending of the following circular to the "Six Companies":—

United States of America, State of California.
Anti-Chinese Convention, San Francisco, July 17th, 1870.

To Kong Chow, Ning Yeong, Sam Yup, Yun War, Yeong War, and Hop War, the six Chinese Companies of San Francisco:

Gentlemen:

We have the honor of informing you that on the evening of the 15th of July, 1870, the largest meeting of the people ever assembled in this City was held in the Mechanics' Pavilion for the purpose of protesting against the further emigration of Chinese to this Country, the full account of which you will find in the newspapers of the next day.

At that meeting the following resolution was unanimously adopted with enthusiastic evidences of determination:

"Resolved, That the Temporary President and Secretary inform the six Chinese Companies in this City, that we do not consider it just to us, or safe to the Chinamen, to continue coming to the United States; and request them to give such notice to the public authorities of the Chinese Empire."

We shall imagine certain questions, that you would naturally be inclined to ask, for the purpose of answering in plain language, that we may not be misunderstood or misrepresented.

1st. Why is this warning sent to the six Chinese Companies in San Francisco?

To this we answer, you are the acknowledged heads of the Chinese clans that come to this country, and the six

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wealthy representatives of the Chinese Empire, having the power and means of communicating our wishes to your government.

2d. Why is the emigration of Chinamen to this country unjust to Americans with whom we have a national treaty granting us the privilege of coming to the United States?

To this we answer, the emigration of your people to this country is unjust because it is unequal. We have for twenty years, even before the Burlingame Treaty, been permitting your people to come among us and enjoy the commercial advantages of our country; your laborers have dug our gold, carried it away and impoverished our mines; they have entered into competition with our washer-women, our mechanics, our laborers, our man-servants and our maid-servants, at such prices as to drive them to the verge of starvation; your people have comparatively no families, while ours have wives and children to support; they are not to any great extent consumers of our produce; their habits and morals are contaminating our people; every day they are becoming more and more repulsive to the freemen of our nation.

Our people cannot enter into the interior of your country and quietly enjoy the advantages of your government; true, our government by treaty has granted you the privilege of coming to this country, but ours is a government of the people; the President and Senate who are the treaty making power are their creatures holding their offices for but four and six years; if they do wrong or commit an error, we elect others to correct the mistakes of the past and do our bidding in the future.

We live up to agreement in our treaties, and abolish them when they become oppressive; such must be the case with the treaty we have made with China, as our national election is fast approaching and will turn upon that, as well as other questions agitating the labor interests of our country.

3d. Why is it unsafe for Chinamen to come to this country when the government of the United States is pledged to protect them?

To this we answer: as the government has made a treaty

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with your Empire it will abide by and sustain it, as far as it has the power to do so, but the power is in the people. Since the formation of our government, when legal means were too slow, the people would not wait, and have often visited justice upon wrong doers. For murder they have taken life without law, and inflicted other punishment for crimes of less magnitude; organized bodies of the people have sometimes taken the place of courts and juries, and of governments.

We do not advocate or justify riots or unlawful acts of any kind, but as they have occurred we may expect them again. As dark cloyds rise above the horizon we look for a storm and seek shelter. So when the public mind is greatly disturbed by any great wrong, it is well for the object of their dislike to keep out of the way.

We only advise your government and people to a course of prudence, knowing well every vessel that brings Chinese to this coast will only serve to fan the flame of dissatisfaction, until at last it may reach a point beyond government control.

The writers failed to say that the Chinese Government permitted American merchants to go to China and to exchange the product of American merchanics and laborers fully fifty years before the Burlingame Treaty was made. And if the truth were known, the introduction of American merchandise into China may have caused as much misery in China as the employment of Chinese laborers is alleged to have caused here in California.

4th. What will be the result of our failing to heed this warning, coming as it does from such a small portion of the people of the United States?

We answer, your people have nothing to fear from the government; it is slow in its movements and uncertain in its conclusions. While the people act from impulse in resisting wrong, and often inflict punishment before government can prevent it. It is true the whole of the City of San Francisco is but a small portion of the United States, but it is the frontier of public opinion on this question, a question now being agitated all over the country. We council moderation, but our voice for peace will scarcely be heard in the shouts of an excited popu-

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lace. The feeling of opposition to the Chinese is increasing every day, and we hope you will take our advice and notify the people of your country that it is unsafe for them to some to the United States or its Territories.

Very respectfully yours, etc.,

A. M. WINN,

Temporary President of Anti-Chinese Convention.

M. V. CAREY,

Temporary Secretary.

It will be noticed that the threat of lawless action is conveyed in these resolutions.

The year 1870 was notable in the annals of opposition to Chinese cheap labor from the fact that there were two large mass meetings held in San Francisco in that year for the purpose of giving an airing to aspiring orators and politicians and incidentally to advertise to the world our helplessness in a "land overflowing with milk and honey."

The Daily Examiner of July 9, 1870, gives the following heading to a report of an anti-coolie mass meeting that was held at Platt's Hall:

"Uprising of the people against the emigration of the Chinese to this country—Speeches by A. M. Winn, Henry George, Charles A. Sumner, and Hon. Philip A. Roach." This meeting was gotten up by the shoemakers and was preceded by a procession under the marshalship of Maurice V. Carey, President of the Saint Crispins. The Emmet Guard, an Irish-American patriotic military organization, escorted the citizens on foot. When the meeting was called to order by Captain Carey, General Winn was introduced, and he proceeded at once to read resolutions which recounted the misery of his fellow-citizens, the shoemakers who had been "driven out of employment" by Chinese competition.

This meeting is remarkable for another reason, namely, it was probably one of the earliest appearances of Henry George, "The Prophet of San Francisco," before any audience.

In May, 1869, Mr. George wrote his celebrated letter on the Chinese question to the New York Tribune, from which the following extract is taken:

"The early Chinese immigrants did not come into competi-

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tion with any class or settled interest, great or small. As washerwomen, cooks and servants they supplied the need of female labor; did not displace it, for there were comparatively none in the country to displace. Nor in the diggings did they struggle with the white miners for the rich claims, for such a struggle could have but one result, but followed them as the jackal follows the lion, contented with the diggings which the whites did not consider remunerative, or had abandoned, but from which their economy and industry enabled them to extort large returns."

It will be seen that Mr. George corroborates the statement of the Legislative Committee of 1862. He was 30 years old when he wrote the Tribune letter, and probably had not then discovered the great principles which he has given to the world in his immortal message "Progress and Poverty."

Speaking of the effects of the Chinese on competition at the July meeting, Mr. George used the following language:—

"This Chinese question was but a phase of a greater question now agitating the world; a question which the sphinx of fate was putting to our civilization." Again, he says: "The problem to be solved was one of distribution." Not one in the audience had sense enough to ask Mr. George what was that "greater question" which was agitating the world then and continues to do so yet.

It is interesting to follow the growth and development of a philosopher—as Mr. George surely was—and the following excerpts from a letter to the San Francisco Argonaut of Aug. 24, 1878, will give the anti-Chinese reader food for thought and prepare him for two paragraphs which I will select from "Progress and Poverty."

"It is not as you think, that the Chinese are the cause of hard times, our labor difficulties, our pauperism and our crime.

"There are no Chinamen in New York, yet you may see here far more suffering than in San Francisco; there are no Chinamen in Boston, yet white girls are working there for two cents per hour; there are no Chinamen in England, yet 1,000,000 people are supported as paupers, and official reports recite horrors which cannot be paralleled by any system of slavery in ancient or modern times. And if we had no Chinamen, the

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monopolization of land would, with increase of population, bring hard times, labor difficulties, pauperism and crime."

These simple yet comprehensive truths were contributed to the Chinese question 27 years ago, and yet the stupid advocates of exclusion kept right on and keep right on ignoring the facts that should be plain to everyone. I now come to the keystone in the arch of Mr. George's philosophy—the following paragraphs from the end of Book I of "Progress and Poverty." After writing sixty pages of close and cogent reasoning as a foundation he gives us the following paragraphs, which should be written in letters of gold:

He says, "We have thus seen that capital does not advance wages or subsist laborers, but that its functions are to assist labor in production, seed, etc., and with the wealth required to carry on exchanges.

"We are thus irresistibly led to practical conclusions so important as to amply justify the pains taken to make sure of them.

"For if wages are drawn not from capital, but from the produce of labor, the current theories as to the relations of capital and labor are invalid, and all remedies, whether proposed by professors of political economy or working men, which look to the alleviation of poverty, either by the increase of capital or the restriction of the number of laborers, or the efficiency of their work, must be condemned.

"If each laborer in performing the labor really creates the fund from which his wages are drawn, then wages cannot be diminished by the increase of laborers, but, on the contrary, as the efficiency of labor manifestly increases with the number of laborers, the more laborers, other things being equal, the higher wages should be."

This is all that I can quote from Mr. George at present, but to the reader who has the power of drawing a logical inference this is all that need be said to put him on the sure road to the settlement of Chinese or any other form of wage competition.

The young reader who sees the above paragraphs for the first time will no doubt wonder why the working men of California did not accept these truths upon their first presentation, and why they did not attempt to place their author in

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a position where he might formulate the few simple rules that would be necessary to give effect to the principles herein set forth.

If there was anything necessary to prove the stupidity if not the dishonesty of the sandlot movement, it was shown in their refusal to send Mr. George to the Constitutional Convention where his philosophy might have been formulated into the organic law of the State, and thus settle not only the Chinese question, but also the greater question—the monopoly of natural wealth.

Mr. George was willing and desirous to go to the Convention, but he would not submit to the humiliating conditions that were subscribed to by all Mr. Kearney's candidates.

It is a somewhat astonishing fact that for the past 20 years in which the principles of Henry George have been before the world, the organized labor forces of California have persistently refused to discuss the principles of his political economy or to ask that they be enacted into statute.

Some of the foregoing matter has been given out of its chronological order, but it seems wise to present to the reader a few thoughts from the man whose philosophy cannot be ignored in the settlement of any question in modern political economy.

Very early in the history of the State, California presented a profitable field for the manufacture of boots and shoes. An ample supply of tan-bark and hides in abundance furnished the foundation for the industry, and a growing population for the market. In 1867, 1868 and 1869, many "co-operative" shoe factories were started in San Francisco and nearly all of them that had no internal dissensions flourished; their members making excellent wages. At that time the local demand could not be supplied by the local manufacturers, and the shoe stores were filled with French boots and shoes. The celebrated "Benkert Boot," made in Philadelphia, was for many years the standard high-priced footwear carried in stock by the shoe dealers of this city. It will be noticed by the "Crispin Circular" about to be given, which by the way is here published for the first time, that the Crispins were working for such a low rate of wages that they determined to strike, and they did strike. Bear in mind that all this was before any Chinese were employed in

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the shoe business, and while the shoe stores of San Francisco were filled with French and Philadelphia boots and shoes, and before the market was influenced by preferential freight rates, that always favor the long distance shipper as against the local producer.

The San Francisco shoemakers complained of low wages at a time when a good workman, moderately quick at the business, could earn from $3.00 to $4.00 per day, and when some exceptionally quick workmen made as high as $5.00, this, too, when the price of living in San Francisco was much less than it is now, especially to those who had families and "kept house." The real reason why the shoemakers of San Francisco could not make high wages at that time was because they were poor workmen. Hundreds of them even then could only make a part of a shoe. They had about as much skill in the trade as a "handy man" could easily learn in ninety days. And it was this class of workmen who instinctively opposed the employment of Chinese in the boot and shoe business. I may state here in passing that I was on this coast on the date of the issuance of the circular, and that I know by personal experience the truth of the statements which I make in relation to wages, cost of living and the lack of skill in most of the shoemakers who at that time were opposed to "Chinese cheap labor." The reader of the Crispin Circular may be puzzled by an allusion in the first paragraph where the local Crispins warn their Eastern brethren "that the cheapness of their labor will attract capital and other *Sampsons* to invest in the Coolie." A generation has passed since there was any reasonable significance in these words. Some time in 1870, a Mr. Sampson, a shoe manufacturer of North Adams, Mass., had trouble with his workmen, who, being organized Crispins, struck his factory. Mr. Sampson determined to fight them, so he engaged a force of Chinamen to come to his factory at North Adams, where they were installed amidst much opposition, even on the part of those who were not shoemakers. At this moment I have no data showing the result of Mr. Sampson's experiment, but of one thing I am quite certain, no Chinamen are now working in the shoe factories of North Adams nor are they so employed in any other Eastern town.

The machinery that has been invented and applied to the manufacture of boots and shoes since Sampson's North Adams

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experiment has been a potent factor in driving the Chinese out of the shoe business on this coast, and I am quite sure that it has had the same effect in North Adams. I make no apology for devoting those few paragraphs to the boot and shoe business in this city and the relation of the Chinese to it, because the Chinese were first employed at it here, and it was here that most of the opposition to them originated. So, it follows that if I can show the folly of the early Crispins of this city in their blind and useless opposition to their Chinese brethren, it will throw much light upon the opposition to the employment of Chinamen in any capacity and in any part of our country.

In another portion of this paper I will give some of the statistics of boot and shoemaking, as well as some other industries of San Francisco that the exclusionists allege have been invaded by the Chinese:—

THE CRISPIN CIRCULAR.

To the Officers and Members of the Order of the Knights of Saint Crispin, throughout the United States and Canada:

Brothers:

We earnestly call your attention to the existing state of affairs in this city, and on this coast! For, if ever a grievance existed since the organization of the Order of the Knights of Saint Crispin, what we have to contend against in this city is a grievance of the greatest magnitude and injury to the Order at large, if allowed to continue, viz.: the introduction of the Coolie into our trade. Let no one imagine that it is only a mere local question—for it will affect you Brothers, as well as it does us at the present time; for the cheapness of their labor will attract capital and other Sampsons to invest in the Coolie. Experiment has shown that to capitalists the Coolie is fast proving remunerative, in the following branches of business, which they now have totally monopolized: The Woolen and Cotton Mills, Doors, Sash and Blind Factories, Laundries, cheap Clothing, Paper Collars, Shirts and Cigars, and cheap Boots, Shoes and Slippers. Statistics show that there are now 165,000 Coolies on this coast; and it needs no prophetic eye to see that it is only a question of a few years ere the serfs of Capital will be supply-

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ing the Western and Southern States with boots and shoes, manufactured in San Francisco, unless you, Brothers, will aid us to crush the manufacturers, who are giving the Coolie instruction and employment. 'Tis here that they were first introduced into the business; here is the fountain head; and, in our opinion, it is here that the battle should be fought. We have fought them long and strong, in all conceivable means that were in our power. We created a series of Public Meetings of Indignation against them; petitioned the Legislature of our State to enact laws against them; we made it infernally hot for the scabs who were instructing them; and, in fact, it became so hot that the first factory that they were introduced in accidentally got burned down, and has not been rebuilt since.

We are still fighting and watching. But the task is fast becoming too much for us, alone and unaided as we are, and have been since the formation of our Lodge. We now appeal to you; and we expect a hearty co-operation in the vindication of our rights as free-born mechanics. We well know that the manufacturers who are employing them cannot carry on their business without the aid of us Crispins; and we also believe that, if we were aided by you, we could effectually compel them to desist from the further introduction of the Coolie into our trade.

Brothers, if facts alone are necessary to convince you, we respectfully submit the following:

Two years ago this March, we were working for such a low rate of wages that we determined to have as fair compensation for our labor as any other branch of industry. We made known our demands to the bosses, but we were treated with cool contempt. We then agreed to strike ;and strike we did, and gained it successfully, and that, too, without the aid of any other Lodge or organization. A bill of wages was drawn out, and complied with for the time being. All things went on as happy as a marriage bell during the summer and fall. Winter set in, and soon the bosses raised the cry of hard times, and began to cut down again. We resisted for seven weeks, and spent nearly three thousand dollars in the effort; and again we were victorious.

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But, like the battle of Bunker Hill to the English troopers, that victory also proved our defeat; for soon our best hopes began to vanish. For when the manufacturers saw that their tyrannical system of reducing the wages, at the earliest show of dull times, could not be worked any longer, to gratify their avaricious greed for the almighty dollar, they had recourse to the Coolie; they established them in back streets, in out-buildings, in cellars, in attics, and in every place that they could secrete them, and get degraded whites to instruct them. The scabs got high wages, but the Coolie got the knowledge. How well they have succeeded, the following facts will give you a fair idea:—

CONTRAST BETWEEN TWO YEARS AGO AND TODAY.

TWO YEARS AGO—MARCH, 1869. WHITES.

Buckingham & Hecht's Factory employed	200
Wentworth's Factory employed	200
Wolf & Co.'s Factory employed	150
Marks & Calisher's Factory employed	75
Donavan Brothers' Factory employed	40
Jones' Factory employed	30
United Workmen's Co-operative Factory employed	100
Metropolitan Co-operative Factory employed	60
Beers, and other small shops employed say in all	75
Total	930

TODAY—MARCH, 1871.

	WHITES.	CHINESE.
Buckingham & Hecht Bros.' Factory employs	150	104
Wentworth's Factory employs	30	90
Wolf & Co.'s Factory employes	6	100
Chinese Factory on Battery Street employs		200
Marks & Calisher's Factory employs	60	...
Chinese Factory on Front Street employs	4	100
Donavan Brothers' Factory employs	25	...
Metropolitan Co-operative Factory employs	120	...
United Workmen's Co-operative Factory employs	100	...
Jones', Mason's and Emerson's, in all	100	...
Totals	595	594

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In 1869, *the whole number of whites employed in factories was* 930; *Chinese none. In* 1871, *the whites so employed number* 595; *the Chinese* 594. *The increase of Coolies into the business is* 594 *at boots and shoes. The decrease of whites is* 336, *who were systematically compelled to seek employment elsewhere. Men with their families cannot well do this. Now, Brothers, we hope that you will give this subject a careful consideration, and weigh well the answers that you will give the following questions; for on your answer depends the means of obtaining bread and butter for perhaps two hundred men and women and their families from two to three months:*

1st.—Does your Lodge consider our case a case of grievance or not?

2d.—If so, will you instruct your Delegate to I. G. C. to make it a grievance?

3d.—Do you advise us to strike?

4th.—If so, how much per week could you cheerfully send us?

5th.—How long and willing would you contribute toward our support?

Should we receive a hearty response from the majority of the Lodges, we promise you that ere another summer passes we will firmly and unitedly strike, till the last Coolie is driven from the factories; and if you do not aid us, we are determined to act ourselves, to the bitter end, or till the Goddess of Victory will once more crown our humble efforts in the vindication of our rights as Crispin mechanics, and free-born American citizens.

Brothers, we patiently await your immediate answer.

Fraternally Yours,

HOSEA OSGOOD, S. K.
JOHN NOLAN, K.
MOSES B. HOWARD, T.
WILLIAM P. SULLIVAN, F. S.
WILLIAM BOWMAN, Cor. Sec'y, Box 661.

San Francisco, March 15th, 1871.

Approved by the unanimous vote of the Lodge.

Attest: *M. J. SHEEHAN,*
Recording Secretary.

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The foregoing circular gives the number of shoemakers—white and Chinese—employed here in 1871. The estimate of the whole number of Chinese on the Coast—169,000—must be much exaggerated, but exaggeration is one of the necessary elements in the mental makeup of the agitator.

In connection with the mention of General Winn, something should be said of another famous agitator and organizer, P. S. Dorney. Mr. Dorney, if not a native of Massachusetts, lived in that State in his early years. He served in the Union Army during the War of the Rebellion, after which he drifted westward. Having the gift of fluent speech, he was much sought for as a stump speaker by the party in power. Mr. Dorney was a typical industrial Bohemian and very closely resembled those "professional laborers" who fomented prejudice and then used it against the Chinese to enable them to break into some political position where they could be free from irksome manual toil. He was also a prolific writer and much of his literary labor is embalmed in the pages of the "Golden Era." Mr. Dorney is credited with having organized the secret political society known as the "Order of Caucasians," whose sole purpose is said to have been the purification of the white race and the exclusion of the "Yellow Pagans" who are within our gates and without the ballot.

The "Sovereigns of Industry" was another organization that sprang up at this time, and it is probable that it had the same motive for existence—the exclusion of labor that was then, and is now, needed for the development of the State. When Mr. Dorney died the Order of Caucasians died with him, and when General Winn passed away the "Mechanics' States Council" went out of existence. These items are given to show how intimately certain organizations are connected with the men who organize them and how little of the real opinion of the unorganized people these associations will reflect or express.

We may now approach the "Kearney" period in anti-Chinese agitation. This movement overshadowed all others of its character that have existed in this State. So much has been said about it that I do not think it necessary to add much

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to its literature. The railroad strike at Pittsburg in the spring of 1877 was probably the accelerating circumstance that brought Mr. Kearney to the front as an anti-coolie agitator and a virulent exclusionist. In 1877 there was an attempt made to organize a "Workingman's Party" in San Francisco, and when the news of the strike at Pittsburg reached this city the members of that party called a sympathetic meeting on the "Sand Lot"—the ground that is now enclosed by the angle of the northeast corner of Market and City Hall avenue. The speakers at that meeting were full of enthusiasm, but were well under control of their organizers, so much so that Dr. O'Donnell was refused permission to speak from the main platform on the ground that he was an incendiary demagogue making inflammatory speeches against the Chinese.

The speakers at this original "Sand Lot" meeting studiously refrained from any mention of Chinese competition, except to tell their audience that it was not a basic question and that it made little difference to the laborer who competed with him if he was to be denied access to natural opportunities and did not get the full reward of his labor. In truth, many of the leading spirits of this historic meeting were Socialists, opposed then, as they are now, to reformers whose only stock in trade was the exclusion of their fellow-workers. When the meeting was over O'Donnell's partisans tried to stampede the crowd into Chinatown, and many of them went in that direction, assaulting innocent Chinamen and wrecking Chinese wash houses on the way. The police were warned of what might happen and they dispersed the mob before it reached the territory north of California street.

Mr. Kearney was not a speaker at that meeting. On the contrary, he was a member of the "Pickhandle Brigade," a temporary body organized to preserve order. But before another year had passed he captured the party that got up the first "Sand Lot" meeting and his shibboleth, "the Chinese must go," was repeated with nauseating frequency from "Tar Flat" to "Nob Hill." From that time on the "Sand Lot" was the main forum of the Kearney movement. Anti-coolie clubs were organized all over the city. The ostensible

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purpose was the exclusion of the Chinese, but Kearney had greater ambitions. He used the "Sand Lot" slogan merely to appeal to the brutal instinct of his followers. His real purpose was to found and control a political party having for its object the amelioration of all the political evils that were complained of by the workman.

And if the people of California have a Constitution today that hinders the spoilsman and serves the railroad corporations they may thank Denis Kearney and the late Charles de Young for that instrument.

No document relating in any way to a sketch of the anti-Chinese movement in this State would be at all complete without a notice of "Dr. C. C. O'Donnell," who was a rabid anti-Chinese orator long before Mr. Kearney engaged in the crusade. O'Donnell has been for many years and is now a practicing physician in this city. But he seems to have had time enough during the intervals of his practice to deliver hundreds of anti-Chinese speeches, most of them of the most virulent character. In the excitement of the Kearney movement O'Donnell was elected a delegate to the Constitutional Convention.

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Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him;
For ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."—Exod. 22:21.

"Be indulgent in treatment of strangers."—Confucius.

Reviving Dead Issue.

When we know the origin, the object, and the character of the people engaged in any one of a series of movements we are in a position to understand all movements similar in character and aim. This may be applied to the Anti-Asiatic Movement that is just now strenuously striving to obtain a hearing from the American people.

Those who have followed the various Anti-Chinese crusades that have originated in California will see that the present movement is somewhat different from any of the previous ones both in the manner of its organization and in the methods of its procedure. The honor of organizing the present crusade may be divided between Messrs. De Young and Tweitmoe. But the real credit of organizing public opinion and marshaling statistics against the Asiatic must be given to the San Francisco *Chronicle,* the same newspaper that made such a tremendous fight for the adoption of our State Constitution in 1880.

The following editorial from the *Chronicle* of Feb. 23rd, 1905, shows the position of that newspaper on the present Anti-Asiatic crusade:

> *With this issue we summon the attention of the public to a matter of grave import, a matter that no longer admits of delay if we are to preserve the integrity of our social life, not only in California, but throughout the Pacific States and throughout the Union.*
>
> *The Japanese invasion with which we are confronted is fraught with a peril none the less momentous because*

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it is so silent, none the less attended with danger to American character and to American institutions because it is so peaceful. Whatever action we now postpone must ultimately be taken with tenfold force and with dangerous friction when the burden of Asiatic and of Japanese immigration, already grievous and destructive, has become still more pernicious and still more intolerable. It will be well for us to choose now the line of least resistance, to determine now and forever whether this State and this country are to be American or whether they are to be Asiatic, whether they are to continue under the sway of American thought and aspiration or whether they are to become a seminary, an abiding place and an inheritance for the Oriental peoples. To every nation, as to every individual, there come moments of choice between self-preservation and self-effacement. The former demands action, courage and resource, but for the latter apathy and indifference alone are needed.

And so the article which today we present to the public is but one of a series that is intended to show the reality of the Japanese danger, its imminence and its growth. We intend to show how the communal life that should be purely American is being slowly saturated with alien influences with which that communal life should have neither part nor lot and that a process so insidious and so contrary to nature has already been attended by a deterioration and by a misery that do but presage the greater ruin that must surely come. We intend to show that the laws enacted in restraint of this very evil have been rendered void by subtle evasion, and that official vigilance has been set at naught by a cunning and elaborate mechanism that grows more intricate day by day, as it grows also more effective and more destructive. We shall show the nature of that mechanism, its subtle interference with industry, with wages and with social life, and what the end of it must surely be when increased power brings increased opportunity to set at defiance American ideals and to reduce the standards of American life to the penuries and the squalors of the Orient.

This is a matter first for California and for the Pacific Coast, and secondly for the whole Nation. California

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stands today as an open door for Japan and for Asia, and when those portals have been passed, the road to the Asiatic is unbarred. The duty that California must now perform is rendered not more to herself than to the high interests of the Union to which she belongs, and it is a duty that demands vigilance and courage and the supreme will to overcome and to go forward.

It will be seen by the closing paragraph of the *Chronicle* "note" that the editor takes himself seriously, and that he is assuming to some extent the "white man's burden" for California in relation "to the high interests of the Union to which she belongs." This is a favorite pose with nearly all our demagogues. They would have their readers believe that they are the sentinels on the outposts of liberty, and they continually ask us to accept their feverish dreams as veritable inspiration. From February 23rd until May 7th, the *Chronicle* kept grinding out doleful warnings against the disasters that were in store for the American people if the peaceful invasion of the Asiatic was not checked.

The *Chronicle* of March 4th, reported a meeting of the Building Trades Council, at which the Asiatic invasion was discussed, and a resolution was introduced by Mr. O. A. Tweitmoe, the Secretary, protesting

against the national policy, laws, and treaties which allow Japanese to enter our ports, to the great detriment of our citizenship, our standard of living, and the progress of American civilization."

This is probably the earliest mention of the ubiquitous Mr. Tweitmoe in relation to the present exclusion crusade.

Mr. Tweitmoe, with the machinery of the Unions at his disposal, lost no time in bringing the matter before the various trades not connected with his special organization. From the inception of the crusade great pains were taken to impress the people with the idea that this movement against the Asiatic comes direct from the people, and that it was not an outgrowth of the Building Trades Council and a daily newspaper.

A series of dispatches from various labor unions throughout the country was printed in the Chronicle of April 30, showing that much preliminary work was done before the exclusionists held their first convention.

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Great exertions were made to have the first Convention of the League a success, at least as far as numbers were concerned, and the following paragraphs from a Chronicle notice on the day of the first meeting show the interest that that newspaper had in the success of the movement:

The meeting of the Anti-Japanese Convention at Lyric Hall this afternoon will mark an important epoch in the history of San Francisco, of California, and in fact of the whole country. No movement of recent years has been more important to the vital interests of the country than the agitation against the unrestricted immigration of a non-assimilative horde of Asiatics.

While the labor unions, the wage-earners of California, have taken the initiative in the movement, the question is one which affects every American, irrespective of occupation or affiliation. It is an admitted fact that the Japanese form a more dangerous element than the Chinese or the most undesirable immigrants from any other part of the globe. That the assemblage will be a representative one admits of no doubt. Almost every organization having the welfare of the community at heart will be represented by duly accredited delegates.

Organized Labor, the official organ of the State and the San Francisco Building Trades Council, in announcing the meeting of the convention, says in part: "One of the most important gatherings that has ever met in San Francisco will convene to-morrow, Sunday, May 7th, at 2 P. M. in Lyric Hall, 121 Eddy street. It will be just five years to-morrow since the memorable meeting was held in the Metropolitan Temple. At that time the first note of warning was sounded on the dangers that threaten our State and Nation from unrestricted Japanese immigration. It was at this meeting that Dr. A. E. Ross, the able scholar and eminent sociologist, made his famous address, which was printed in the columns of Organized Labor, and which has since been reprinted by nearly every labor paper, magazine and periodical of any standing published in the English language.

The work of the *Chronicle* could be seen from the start and most of the speakers at the first meeting of the convention were pleased to have such an able ally.

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When the Anti-Asiatic Convention held its first session, the cut-and-dried character of the affair was evident to the most careless observer. On every seat there was a copy of a pamphlet of thirty closely printed pages, made up from *Chronicle* editorials. Mr. Tweitmoe assumed the postion of Chairman, and in calling the meeting to order gave due credit to Professor Ross for his contributions to the cause. Mr. Tweitmoe claims that this speech of Professor Ross was the first gun that was fired in the Anti-Japanese campaign.

This is an error as Denis Kearny delivered more than a hundred speeches on the subject about fifteen years ago, and, strange as it may appear to readers outside of this State, he could hardly get a corporal's guard to listen to him.

Two paragraphs from Prof. Ross's address are herewith appended to show that he has furnished the ideas if not the very phraseology that the present day exclusionist is constantly mouthing.

> *The root of our objection to the Japanese immigrant is not that he is brown. We have no antipathy to color, and we sincerely wish the races of Asia well-being and progress on the continent they have made their own. It is not his ways or personal habits. We are ready to admit that in Japan even the lower classes are wonderfully clean, polite and well-behaved. It is not that the Oriental does not assimilate to us. If he does not share our social and political life, neither does he make demands of us. If he does not seek naturalization, he foregoes the privilege of voting for our law-makers. It is not that the Oriental can whip us industrially. He cannot beat us in energy or capacity. He cannot do more in a day than the American. And if he could, no doubt a certain sense of fair play would prompt us to acquiesce and to yield gracefully to the better man. We are too much believers in letting the best man win to whine if the Oriental can take our jobs away from us by sheer ability.*
>
> *But what American labor objects to is exposure to competition with a cheaper man. The coolie cannot outdo him, but he can underlive him. He cannot produce more, but he can consume less. The Oriental can elbow the American to one side in the common occupations because he has fewer wants. To let this go on, to let the American*

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be driven by coolie competition, to check the American birth-rate in order that the Japanese birth-rate shall not be checked, to let an opportunity for one American boy be occupied by three Orientals so that the American will not add that boy to his family, is to reverse the current of progress, to commit race suicide. Everything we call progress has helped to develop a man who can produce much and can consume much; it has abhorred the cheap man. It has favored and fostered not the man of crude palate, of tough stomach, of low organization, of few wants, and of little intelligence and energy, but the superior man. Starting with the Oriental peoples of Egypt and Babylonia, civilization has in three thousand years swept round the globe, insisting on better, finer and brainier men as it went, and now by the waters of the Pacific it is face to face with peoples like the Chinese and Hindus and the Japanese, who are nearest to reproducing the economic conditions of those ancient peoples who rocked the cradle of civilization.

Mr. Tweitmoe, instead of calling for temporary officers and appointing the usual committee on credentials, started with an oration, after which the audience was invited to listen to the wails of certain other well-paid and well-fed gentlemen whose jobs were not endangered by coolie competition. The following gentlemen were the moulders of public opinion for the occasion: Walter Macarthur, Andrew Furuseth, W. J. French, E. I. Wolfe and his Honor Mayor Eugene E. Schmitz.

These orators ground out the same old grist that has been the sole stock in trade with exclusionists for nearly a generation.

The following paragraphs from Mr. Tveitmoe's speech will show that he has divorced himself from all the old-fogy notions that gave Wendell Phillips and his school such a hold upon the hearts of the American people.

The sociologist will notice that Mr. Tveitmoe's fiat on the law that governs the increase of population, if not in accordance with experience is at least confidently and forcibly expressed:

"You all recognize the dangers that threaten our people and the very existence of our beloved republic from

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unrestricted Japanese and coolie immigration. If there perchance should be a person within the hearing of my voice or an American citizen who does not understand that unlimited coolie immigration to this country means its ultimate downfall, we desire to hear from him, because he is sadly in need of education.

" We are aware of the fact that certain of our citizens are inclined to admire the Japanese on account of their military valor, and that others are carried away into ephemeral regions by some unaccountable process of illogical reasoning, termed the universal brotherhood of man; but we believe that the overwhelming majority of American citizens who are endowed with a fair amount of common sense and a high degree of intelligence are able to perceive the threatening cloud on the Oriental horizon, and realize its ruinous results to the future of our country.

" Our objection to the Japanese invasion is based on economical principles, which are absolutely sound. The law that the producing standard of living determines the increase of the people is as true as the law of gravitation, and it is also true that the same law regulates the misery or the comfort of the producing classes, the laboring people of our country."

After ignoring "the illogical reasoning, termed the universal brotherhood of man" Mr. Tweitmoe introduced Mr. Macarthur, whose attitude towards the pagan may be learned from the following paragraphs taken from his speech:—

We are opposed to Japanese immigration because we are in favor of preserving our own interests and the standards of our Anglo-Saxon civilization and keeping them free from Oriental contamination. But we are in favor of attaining this end by peaceful means. The proposition to induce Congress to extend the provisions of the Chinese exclusion act so as to include the Japanese within the scope of its provisions is a peaceful proposition—it is the only proposition, in fact, which will make for permanent peace between the two peoples.

No student of conditions can fail to take cognizance of the fact that, if the Japanese invasion is permitted to

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go on, it is only a question of time when the people of the Pacific Slope will undertake the defense of their own homes with such means and with such weapons as lie nearest to hand.

Mr. Macarthur is a strenuous defender of the standards of Anglo-Saxon civilization and believes in keeping them free from Oriental contamination.

Mr. Macarthur is a man of wide reading and varied information and he must know in his heart that the most brutal degradation of labor and the most bestial conditions of the poor exist in the very center of his Anglo-Saxon civilization. And if I am not mistaken, in racial characteristics. Mr. Macarthur's immediate ancestors barely escaped from the blessings that this alleged Anglo-Saxon civilization distributed with such absolute impartiality to the peasantry of Ireland prior to and about the time of the famine of 1846-47. And if this reference to Ireland, as a result and object lesson in Anglo-Saxon civilization does not suit Mr. Macarthur, he may recall the story of the clearing of the inhabitants of the Highland Glens for the purpose of giving my Anglo-Saxon lord more shooting ground and grazing land for his cattle.

I know of nothing more disgusting than to listen to an Irishman or a Scotchman laud the civilization of the Anglo-Saxon.

It would only be paralleled in incongruity and inconsistency by hearing a Chinaman or an East Indian mouthing the same hypocritical and unmeaning rubbish.

Mr. Andrew Furuseth, the able representative of the Pacific Sailors' Union, was the next speaker and here is a portion of what he said:—

"The main thing to-day is, that our race is placed in a peculiar and dangerous position, in reference to competition with the Mongol races.

"We've already had competition with machine manufacture for at least a century. It has been driving out thousands of workmen from Europe. We sacrifice population to production. The Mongol for centuries has been doing the reverse. They have sacrificed production to population. The Orient is ready to spread out over the earth now.

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"Machine competition has got into the Orient. Millions must seek another place. And here they come into our own labor problem.

"Every man, woman and child should be so thoroughly informed on this matter of the danger of Japanese immigration that local matters of the moment may not take their attention away.

"The South will help us, for they have a race question of their own that burns everything else up. It is impossible to get white labor into the South. California, herself, might have had 5,000,000 people to-day were it not for the Oriental curse.

"If this meeting were acting simply as unionists, I think you would find that the people at Washington would not pay much attention to you. I know whereof I speak. .I was in Washington two months ago and they don't go much on the opinion of a warkingman. But I've noticed that when the laboring man speaks as a citizen, the people in Washington pay attention to it. When the laboring man speaks as a citizen, they have an idea he will vote as he talks. The labor man doesn't always, you know, that's the difference."

The reader will notice that Mr. Furuseth, after the usual reference to the safety of the "race," strikes a new line of argument.

If the idea which Mr. Furuseth threw into the discussion is worth consideration, it may have a tendency to divide the forces in the inception of the campaign. I refer to "the horrors of machine competition".

"Machine competition has got into the Orient. Millions must seek another place. And here they come into our labor problem."

This quotation is from Mr. Furuseth's speech and it contains more reactionary pessimism than I have ever seen in so few words.

If Mr. Furuseth's ideas prevail, it would be in order to destroy the labor saving tools that are the result and product of the struggle of humanity with its environment through all past ages.

However we hope that there will be no revival of the extravagances of the "Luddites" such as disgraced the Anglo-

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Saxon working men on English soil about the time of the introduction of machinery into the factory system.

Mr. Isidore Golden contributed the following paragraph to the exclusion mosaic:—

"We have been accustomed to regard the Japanese as an inferior race, but are now suddenly aroused to our danger. They are not window-cleaners and house servants. The Japanese can think, can learn, can invent. We have suddenly awakened to the fact that they are gaining a foothold in every skilled industry in our country. They are our equals in intellect; their abilities to labor is equal to ours. They are proud, valiant and courageous, but they can underlive us. They have no families here to support; their manner of living and their ideas of civilization is different from ours, and we cannot have to compete with them in the matter of wages for this reason, and we certainly do not desire to. We are here to-day to prevent that very competition. We want no people here that cannot come and mix with us, become blood of our blood and bone of our bone without degrading and debasing us. In the offspring of a marriage between a Mongol and a Caucasian the Mongolian characteristics always predominate."

Mr. Golden fears that the result of intermarriage between the Mongol and the Caucasian would perpetuate the characteristics of the Mongolian.

Which he declares to be "pride, valor and courage." If Mr. Goldens predicate be correct, it seems to me that the result of the intermarriage, which he deplores, would not always be to the detriment of the Caucasian.

Mr. E. I. Wolfe, an attorney of San Francisco, a member of the State Senate and in the convention, the representative of an improvement club, among other good things, told the Convention of a Japanese Architect, whose card he displayed to the audience.

This card paved the way for the introduction of Dr. Sallfeld, who had this to say:—

"I found that the Japanese have entered into all the thirty-four trades connected with, or represented in, the building of a modern American house. I had plans for a house I contemplated building and on which I had re-

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ceived bids from American contractors. From curiosity I submitted the plans to the Japanese and found that they would build the house for $2000 less than the lowest bid from an American. That bid was $5800 and the Japanese offered to build it for $3800. The Japs would do everything, from the excavation to the plumbing and gas-fitting, plastering and painting, turning over the keys to the finished house. Thinking there had been some mistake, I went over the plans with them, even to the tile-laying, but they stood by their figures. They pay their carpenters $1.50 per day and their laborers about 60 per cent less than a white man receives. The item for common labor the American contractor had figured at $700; the Japanese figured it at $250. Is it not time to call a halt? This movement is bound to succeed, for everybody is with us. It affects not only labor, but the capitalist anl capital."

The facts related by Dr. Sallfeld were received with consternation by most of the convention. A few that were not members of the unions crowded around the Doctor to get the address of the Japanese Architect, for it may as well be stated here that there are more people in this State who need dwellings constructed at reasonable rates than there are contractors ready to perform such service.

The Japanese Architect did not get the work to build the modern American house. But the card which was the sole bit of concrete evidence that such a proposition was made—that card was probably transported to Buffalo, New York, in the capacious pocket of Senator Wolfe and proudly presented by that gentleman to the biennial convention of the Foresters of America, to which he was a delegate, as evidence of the necessity of excluding the Japanese and Korean coolie element from this country. The figures are slightly different from those recited by Dr. Sallfeld, but there is no doubt that they refer to the same transaction. There is another slight discrepancy in the relation of this incident of Japanese duplicity, when Dr. Sallfeld held up the ominous card to the audience the Japanese architect's offer was refused and the incident closed.

When Senator Wolfe held up the same card before the gaze of his hypnotized companions of the Forest, at Buffalo,

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the Modern American house was finished and complete, even to the connection of the side sewer with the "cloaca maxima". This incident is perhaps as good as any to show our eastern friends, including the "Foresters of America", how public opinion is formed on this coast; how our climate and soil produces the choicest specimens of the animal and vegetable kingdoms and how perfect and symmetrical outlines and interior of a complete "Modern American house" are produced in California by the mere transfer of a Japanese architect's card from San Francisco to Buffalo.

The following telegram to the *Examiner* is introduced to prove what has been said about the Coolie Architect and to show the easy manner in which even Eastern audiences are converted, when the right man presents the proper evidence:—

FORESTERS FAVOR EXCLUSION OF JAPANESE.

BUFFALO, *August 25.—The Foresters of America in biennial convention here to-day unanimously passed a resolution favoring exclusion of Japanese from the United States on the same line as the Chinese exclusion. The resolution was introduced by E. I. Wolfe, of San Francisco, President pro tem. of the California Japanese Exclusion Society. He explained that the resolution was directed against only the Japanese and Korean coolie element, which he is said is as detrimental as Chinese coolie immigration. They have even gone into the contracting business in California, he said, and he cited an instance where a Japanese contractor built a house for $4500 where an American could not do it for less than $6500.*

As an educating incident I think that the lesson of the Japanese Architect's offer to construct a Modern American house for a sum one fourth less than a white man would perform the same service, shows how much we have to pay for the luxury of trade unions.

After listening to the stock speeches—some of which I have quoted from the press reports, the first meeting of the Anti-Japanese League adjourned to meet the following Sunday. On which occasion the organization was perfected. The following preamble to five long stereotyped resolutions was passed:

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Whereas, The menace of Chinese labor, now greatly allayed by the passage and enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act, has been succeeded by an evil similar in general character but much more threatening in its possibilities, to wit, the immigration to the United States and its insular territories of large and increasing numbers of Japanese and Corean laborers; and, whereas, the American public sentiment against the immigration of Chinese labor as crystallized in the enactment of the Chinese exclusion act, finds still stronger justification in demanding prompt and adequate measures of protection against the immigration of Japanese and Corean labor, on the grounds, first, that the wage and living standards of such labor are dangerous to, and must, if granted recognition in the United States, prove destructive of the American standards in these essential respects; secondly, that the racial incompatibility, as between the peoples of the Orient and the United States, presents a problem of race preservation which it is our imperative duty to solve in our own favor, and which can only be thus solved by a policy of exclusion; and, whereas, the systematic colonization by these Orientals of our insular territory in the Pacific and the threatened and partly accomplished extension of that system to the Pacific Coast and other Western localities of the United States constitutes a standing danger, not only to domestic peace, but to the continuance of friendly relations between the nations concerned.

Chairman Tveitmoe complimented and thanked the Chronicle for its report of the initiatory meeting of last Sunday, and finished his speech with the following mild paragraph: "Fighting is not our business. The bullets we use are the bullets of reason. But I want to tell the world that the working man of the United States will rather fight to show that he is a free man than walk under the yoke of Asiatic slavery."

The foregoing "Whereas" and the excerpt from Mr. Tveitmoe's speech very properly wind up the proceedings of the first meeting of the Anti-Asiatic League. The proceedings extended to two occasions, but they were really parts of one event, and the participants no doubt, think, that the first

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meeting of their convention will rank in Pacific Coast history with the original sand lot meeting, from which such important results followed.

The *Chronicle* gave the Meeting a page in its issue of May 8th, and in an editorial of May 9th it printed the following:—"The Anti- Japanese convention, which met in this city on Sunday, although mainly composed of delegates from organized bodies of manual workers, desire to be considered and is entitled to be considered as a representative body of American citizens and not the representatives of any particular class".

This is apologetic, but it voices the sentiments of the exclusionists. They fear lest the people doubt that they are a patriotic body of American citizens who have rushed spontaneously to repel the "yellow invader."

In giving space to the excerpts from speeches that were made, and the resolutions that were passed at the first meeting of the Anti-Asiatic League I am concentrating material for the publicist, and incidentally exposing to the disinterested reader the slender foundation and the flimsy framework upon which the public opinion of California rests. And further, in giving the extracts from their speeches and resolutions I have published all that they may be expected to utter, because their theme is narrow and it has been worn threadbare before they came on the stage. As a spontaneous enthusiastic mass-meeting which had been advertised by a daily newspaper of general circulation, and the machinery of a powerful trades union with national affiliations for a period of at least sixty days—the first meeting of the Anti-Asiatic convention was a failure, both in numbers and in enthusiasm. The speakers at the convention did not represent the people of California, nor does the Building Trades Council represent the people of the City of San Francisco.

The *Chronicle,* in the editorial just quoted, says that "Some of our Eastern contemporaries are inclined to make light of this movement". It would be somewhat strange if our Eastern friends did not take our measure occasionally.

When they read of conventions passing resolutions against the admission of intelligent laborers into a state whose natural wealth is inexhaustible and whose labor force is extremely limited, it requires more than the sophistry of the

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Tweitmoes and Macarthurs to make anything like a reasonable showing for their side of the subject.

Before proceeding further with the record of the Exclusion League it may be appropriate to say a word about Mr. Tweitmoe, its President and ubiquitous spokesman. Mr. Tweitmoe is a Scandinavian by birth and in physique is certainly a worthy descendant of the Northern pirates, or Vikings, who struck terror through the British Isles, prior to the Battle of Hastings. He is a cement worker by trade, but by present occupation the Recording and Corresponding Secretary of the San Francisco Building Trades Council and Secretary of the State organization of that name. He is also the editor of "Organized Labor," an 8-page weekly newspaper, the organ of the Building Trades of this City and State and of their affiliations.

Mr. Tweitmoe is a forcible writer and a fluent speaker and no doubt considers himself the center of a great movement.

That he takes himself seriously will be seen from the following speech which he recently made to the "boys":

> *But, Mr. Chairman, and delegates, we of the Pacific Coast have been pre-eminently charged with the duty of guarding Christian civilization against the deadly influence of Asiatic aggression. We admire the Japanese for their patriotism, their bravery and their willingness to learn; they are great copyists; but we hate their loose morals, their inherited vices, and their deplorable standard of living. We do not object to the Orientals because of their race, creed or color, but we do deny them a right to a share of our civilization, of our liberal institutions, because their presence among us will tend to undermine, and eventually destroy all that we, and all that our forefathers for hundreds of generations past, have built up.*
>
> *Let the Mongolian, the Malay, and all other mongrel offsprings of the Asiatic stay in the country given them by God Almighty. We want America for the Americans, and we want Asia for the Mongolians. We have one race question in this country now—the territory south of the Mason and Dixon line is getting black. We have plenty to do in order to solve this question. Do we want another race question on the Pacific Coast? Is the Pacific Coast to become yellow and the South black, and the Caucasians*

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and whites huddled to the Atlantic seaboard, or finally precipitated into the unknown, lost Atlantic?

My friends, this question is not a labor question. It is one that concerns us as representatives of the Caucasian race, as citizens of the United States, and, boys, if you realize your duty to your country, your obligations to your forefathers, you will ably guard the interests handed down to you from the best minds in all ages; you will take this question up, study it, discuss it, and arrive at the same conclusion that we have. Bring it to the attention of your representatives in Congress, your Senators. Organize branch leagues in your respective cities; assist us in carrying this mighty movement forward until the exclusion laws are complete on our federal statute books. We must make our laws without the assistance of the Mikado or the Dowager Empress of China. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. If America, and American citizens do not protect themselves, how can we expect to have the wily Chinaman and the cringing Japanese legislate for us?

This proscriptive speech sends my memory back more than fifty years, when I heard the old and forgotten "Know-nothing" exclusionists utter the same sentiments—and for substantially the same reason—an ignorant fear of foreign immigrants. The immigrants at that time happened to be largely Irish—and I was one of them.

To-day many of the descendants of those same proscribed immigrants are shouting against the admission of their fellow-men into the territory of the United States and the alleged reason is that their yellow brethren work too cheaply, will not assimilate, and are pagans.

As a foreign-born citizen of this country and a resident of it during the "Native American" Crusade—I repeat this—I am very suspicious of those self appointed champions of liberty who assume "the duty of guarding Christian civilization against the deadly influences of Asiatic Aggression" or any other form of aggression. I prefer the sentiments of Abriham Lincoln. Hear what he said of those grand old men who formulated for us the foundation of our liberties:—

"True statesman as they were," said Lincoln, "they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, so they

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established these self-evident truths, that when, in the distant future, some men, some faction, some interest should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men were entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began; so that truth, justice and mercy and all the humane and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man would hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles on which the temple of liberty was being built."

Lincoln was a seer as well as a statesman and he knew that the tendency of unchecked and irresponsible power whether in slave holders or trades unionists was to breed tyrants. And so did that grand body of men who gave us the Charter of our American freedom—the Declaration of Independence—though some quote them to sanction the invasion of their neighbor's liberty.

Notwithstanding the industry and eloquence of Mr. Tweitmoe the Japanese and Korean Exclusion league grows very slowly, although it looks large in the pages of "Organized Labor". The publication of the remarks of Secretary Taft at the opening exercises of the Miami University, on June 15, and the Presidents letter to the officials charged with administering the exclusion law were just what the Exclusionists needed to revive a crusade that commands no special attention from the general public.

To deal with the Taft incident Mr. Tweitmoe at once assumed a new function. He became "Chairman of the Peoples' Commitee" and issued the following announcement.

LABOR BODIES ASK SECRETARY TAFT TO EXPLAIN.

———

Mass Meeting Being Arranged to Receive the Cabinet Member on His Arrival in San Francisco Next Wednesday.

———

Secretary of War Taft, who will stop in San Francisco a few days on his way to the Philippines, will be tendered a reception and mass meeting on Wednesday evening, July 5th, at the Alhambra Theatre, by a number of labor organizations

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and civic bodies, in case he sees fit to accept the invitation that has been sent to him. The meeting has been decided upon to give Secretary Taft an opportunity to express his views to the citizens of this State on the Chinese exclusion question, and also to afford to the people of California opportunity to prove to him that they are not prejudiced against the Oriental peoples. Besides Secretary Taft, it is expected that Governor George C. Pardee, Mayor Eugene E. Schmitz, United States Senator George C. Perkins, Frank P. Flint, Congressman Julius Kahn, E. A. Hayes, Duncan E. McKinlay, Chief Justice William H. Beatty, P. H. McCarthy, president of the State Building Trades Council, Cleveland Dam, Attorney for the Council, Andrea Sbarboro, president of the Manufacturers and Producers' Association, Walter Macarthur and James H. Barry will be present. Invitations have been extended to all these well known citizens to address the meeting and make known to Secretary Taft the feelings of the people on this Coast on the Chinese exclusion question.

O. A. Tweitmoe, chairman of the committee that is arranging the reception and mass meeting, sent Wednesday the following telegram to Secretary of War Taft, advising him of the plans and asking him for an early answer to the invitation to address the people of this city:

Hon. William H. Taft, Washington, D. C.—The people of San Francisco desire to tender you a genuine California reception upon your arrival in this city, and therefore they do hereby extend to you a cordial invitation to be present and address a mass meeting to be held Wednesday evening, July 8th, the particular object of which is the consideration of the Chinese exclusion law and the recent order of President Roosevelt pertaining thereto.

Hoping for an early and favorable response, I have the honor to suscribe myself, dear sir, very respectfully yours,

O. A. TWEITMOE,

Chairman Peoples Committee.

June 28, 1905.

(*Examiner*, June 30.)

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The publication of the notice is important as it gives another example of the manner in which "spontaneous" public opinion is manufactured on this Coast, and incidentally of the "gall" of some of our foreign born citizens, who may or may not be naturalized.

It is possible that Secretary Taft missed the great opportunity of his life, as there were at least a dozen good and true men ready and willing to instruct him in his duty in relation to the immigration of Asiatics into United States territory.

Well, the truth must be spoken, and it is a matter of record that Mr. Taft completely ignored Mr. Tweitmoe's invitation, there was no meeting held in the hall mentioned and Messrs. Tweitmoe, Dam, McCarthy and the other great personages were no doubt greatly disappointed. On June 24, four days prior to the invitation to Secretary Taft, Mr. Tweitmoe published the following editorial in "Organized Labor," which no doubt was forwarded to the Secretary:

OUR CHINESE SECRETARY OF WAR.

"The utterances of Secretary of War Taft in his speech to the students of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, have few, if any, parallels in American history. When did a member of the Cabinet ever suggest before that a law enacted by the Supreme power of the land ought to be broken with impunity? When did an American, who aspires to the highest office within the gift of the nation, deliberately insult several millions of his fellow citizens? From Benedict Arnold to Taft, was there ever a man prominent in public life who advocated the selling of a portion of the community and ultimately his country for a price? Has it come to this, that the Chinese yellow gold is worth more to great and glorious America than intelligent and patriotic citizenship? Is everything that pertains to Occidental civilization—the treasure handed down to us through hundreds of generations—to be sacrificed on the insatiable altar of commercialism? Are we to turn traitors to our traditions and our country?

"Follow the advice of Taft, disregard the Chinese exclusion law and admit the coolie hordes! We must do it in the interest of commerce and manufacture! We must not hurt the Chinese feelings by any unnecessary question,

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because it is liable to hurt somebody's interests in China. Let us open our arms and give a right hearty American welcome to the rice-eating, 10-cents-a-day Oriental coolies. The greedy American employer wants cheap labor, and the still greedier American expansionist wants Chinese railroads and trade. To them the price is of no concern. It matters not to them if the American standard of living is reduced to the Asiatic level or the march of civilization is reversed if they only can obtain their coveted idols.

"Secretary of War Taft may in some respects be a very able man and in all respects a very ambitious man, but a good after-dinner speaker does not always make a great statesman nor a sound and able jurist. To place it mildly, the Secretary of War in his Chinese exclusion speech at the Miami University exhibited an exceedingly deplorable lack of tact, and incidentally he laid bare before his countrymen a small and narrow mind. His wild and uncalled-for statements may please certain members of the New York Chamber of Commerce, but the citizens of the United States, and especially those of the Pacific Coast and Middle West, will be heard from if the China amorous Secretary of War should take it into his head to aspire to the Presidency in 1908. *It is also likely that President Roosevelt's office will be flooded with an avalanche of protests against the reported probable appointment of William H. Taft to the high office of Chief Justice in case Justice Fuller can be induced to resign.*

"One thing is certain—an administration, no matter how popular it may be, that endeavors to evade the supreme law of the land and thwart the will of the majority of its citizens will in due time hear the thunder voice of a sovereign people."

After reading the foregoing editorial, I think the stranger who is not within our gates will excuse Mr. Taft for declining to accept the "genuine California reception" that would be tendered to him by the Chairman of the People's Committee, Dam, McCarthy, Schmitz, etc. In the meantime a series of offensive resolutions that were to have been passed at one of the conventions of the Japan and Anti-Corean League were discussed and given to the press, but were formally with-

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drawn. It may be presumed that some one having a proper idea of the fitness of things prevailed upon the "Chairman of the People's Committee" to refrain from further insult to a distinguished guest.

The resolutions are herewith appended, and when read in connection with the editorial in "Organized Labor" and the telegraphic dispatch to the "China amorous Secretary of War", are good evidence that Mr. Tweitmoe's diplomatic dispatches should have been framed by some one not only familiar with the idioms of the English language, but also familiar with the manners and customs of this country:—

THE RESOLUTION.

Whereas, Secretary William H. Taft of the War Department, in his commencement address delivered at the Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, uttered unprecedented, unjustifiable and un-American views on the Chinese Exclusion Act; and,

Whereas, Secretary Taft in this speech expressed the grave accusations that the citizens of this Pacific Coast were unreasonable, unjust and irrational in their demands for the enforcement and upholding of this Chinese Exclusion Act; and,

Whereas, Secretary Taft, in his statement that the enforcement of this law is extremely harsh, humiliating and uncomfortable to the Chinese, portrayed his ignorance of the treacherous, sneaking, insidious, betraying and perfidious nature and characteristics of the Mongolian race; and,

Whereas, Secretary Taft in his statements suggests, pre-offers and insinuates that the laws enacted by the supreme power of the land be disregarded, broken, disobeyed, and neglected with impunity; and,

Whereas, Secretary Taft advocates, supports and recommends that the American citizens be offered and sacrificed to the insatiable altar of commercialism, and that this glorious America, and its intelligent and patriotic citizens be exchanged, bartered for the insipid Mongolian dollar, and with it the skulking, meanly, servile and immoral Mongolian immigrant; and,

Whereas, Secretary Taft, in this address, displayed,

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expressed, exhibited and manifested an exceedingly indiscreet, impudent and injudicious nature and character, and that in the interests, protection and welfare of the American citizen his judgment, ability and guidance has been misplaced; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the Japanese and Corean Exclusion League, do most energetically and earnestly condemn and censure Secretary of War W. H. Taft for the expressions, statements, insinuations, contemptuous suggestions, approbrious accusations and antagonistic views of the welfare of the American citizens expressed in his address at the Miami University; and be it further

Resolved, That this league express, transmit and convey to the American citizens the grave dangers lurking behind the "interests" desiring cheap, servile and slaving Mongolian labor and who at all times are ready, anxious and awaiting the opportunity to influx our country with this degrading, demoralizing and disreputable Mongolian labor, even at the risk of breaking, disobeying and ignoring the laws of the land; and further be it

Resolved, That this league urge, instill, incite and impart to our representatives the urgent necessity to be at all times watchful of the clandestine and underhand power working towards the interests of the few; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to all the Representatives from the entire western section of our country; and be it further

Resolved, That this league publicly, through the press and otherwise, transmit its indorsement of these resolutions.

Respectfully submitted,

C. F. BUTTE,
J. GRAHAM,
C. F. KNIGHT,
Committee.

After reading the foregoing aggregation of impertinence cause of so much vituperation, accordingly we insert the dispatch from Miami, Ohio, giving Secretary Taft's remarks at the College commencement exercises.

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Touching the application of the Chinese exclusion law, the Secretary asked, "Is it just that for the purpose of excluding or preventing perhaps 100 coolies from slipping into this country, against the laws, we should subject an equal number of Chinese students and merchants of high character to an examination of such an inquisitorial, humiliating, insulting and physically uncomfortable character as to discourage altogether the coming of merchants and students."

Then he said, "One of the great commercial prizes of the world is the trade with the 400,000,000 Chinese. Ought we to throw away the advantage which we have by reason of Chinese natural friendship for us, and continue to enforce an unjustly severe law, and thus create in the Chinese mind a disposition to boycott American trade, and to drive our merchants from Chinese shores, simply because we are afraid that we may for the time lose the approval of certain unreasonable and extreme popular leaders in California and other Coast States. Does the question not answer itself? Is it not the duty of members of Congress and of the Executive to disregard the unreasonable demands of a portion of the community deeply prejudiced upon the subject in the Far West, and insist in extending justice and courtesy to a people whom we are deriving such immense benefit in the way of international trade."

The contrast between the language of the Cabinet officer and the feverish nothings of a trades union is no less apparent than it is painful, and the Secretary might as well let his character be judged by posterity on the merits of the respective papers. It is true the exclusionists say that the resolutions were withdrawn, of course this is a mere diplomatic subterfuge such as monarchs sometimes indulge in when they want to visit a neighboring territory and announce that they are traveling incognito. If they did not wish to humiliate and insult Secretary Taft the resolutions would be neither discussed nor published. The parties that are really insulted and outraged by these well fed labor leaders are the poor dupes who pay their monthly dues and are made to believe that their condition can be ameliorated by men that have no resources other than coercion, abuse and vituperation.

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The President's letter on exclusion, in *Examiner*, June 26, '05.

THE GENERAL ORDERS.

"THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 24, 1905.*

"To the Acting Secretary of State—The State Department will immediately issue a circular to all our diplomatic representatives in China setting forth the following facts and stating that it is issued by direct order of the President:

"Under the laws of the United States and in accordance with the spirit of the treaties negotiated between the United States and China all Chinese of the coolie or laboring class—that is, all Chinese coolies, skilled or unskilled—are absolutely prohibited from coming to the United States, but the purpose of the government of the United States is to show the widest and heartiest courtesy towards all merchants, teachers, students and travelers who may come to the United States, as well as toward all Chinese officials or representatives in any capacity of the Chinese Government. All individuals of these classes are allowed to come and go of their own free will and accord, and are to be given all the rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions accorded to citizens and subjects of the most favored nations. The President has issued special instructions through the Secretary of Commerce and Labor that while laborers must be strictly excluded the law must be enforced without harshness and that all unnecessary inconvenience and annoyance toward those persons entitled to enter the United States must be scrupulously avoided. The officials of the immigration department have been told that no harshness in the administration of the law will for a moment be tolerated, and that any discourtesy shown to Chinese persons by any official of the government will be cause for immediate dismissal from the service.

"The status of those Chinese entitled freely to enter the United States is primarily determined by the certificate provided for under Section 6 of the Act of

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Congress, July 5, 1884. .Under this law the diplomatic and consular representatives of the United States have, by direction of the President, been instructed before vising any certificate strictly to comply to the requirements of that portion of Section 6, which provides as follows:

"'And such diplomatic representatives or consulor representatives whose indorsement is so required, is hereby empowered and it is his duty, before indorsing such certificates as aforesaid, to examine into the truth of the statements set forth in said certificates, and if he shall find upon examination that said or any of the statements therein contained are untrue, it shall be his duty to refuse to indorse the same.'

CHINESE RECKLESSNESS.

"The certificates thus vised becomes prima facia evidence of the facts set forth therein. The immigration officials have now been specificially instructed to accept these certificates, which are not to be upset unless good reason can be shown for so doing. Unfortunately, in the past it has been found that officials of the Chinese Government have recklessly issued thousands of such certificates which were not true and recklessness has also been shown in the past by the representatives of the American Consular service in vising these certificates; The purpose of this Government is to make these vised certificates of such real value that it is safe to accept them here in the United States. This will result in doing away with most of the causes of complaint that have arisen. The Chinese students, merchants or travelers will thereby secure before leaving China a certificate that will guarantee him against any improper treatment. But in order that this plan may be carried out it is absolutely necessary that the diplomatic and consular officers, instead of treating their work in vising these certificates as perfunctory, shall understand that this is one of their most important functions. .They must not issue any such certificates unless they are certain that the person to whom it is issued is entitled to it and they will

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be held to a most rigid accountability for the manner in which they perform this duty. If there is any reason to believe that any certificate has been improperly issued, or is being improperly used, a thorough investigation will be made into its issuance.

"The only way in which possibly while fully carrying out the provision of the law against the immigration of Chinese laborers, skilled or unskilled, to secure the fullest courtesy and consideration for all Chinese persons of the exempt classes, such as officials travelers, merchants, students and the like, is through the careful and conscientious action of our diplomatic and consular representatives under the proposed policy of the Department of Commerce and Labor. The change will simplify the whole administration of law; but it cannot be made permanent unless the diplomatic and consular representatives do their full duty and see to it that no certificate is issued with their vise unless the person receiving it clearly comes within one of the exempt classes and is fully entitled to the privilege secures for him. Accordingly, all our diplomatic and consular representatives in China are warned to perform this most important duty with the utmost care.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

These orders are supplemented by a letter to the President from Secretary Metcalf, setting out the provisions of the law under which the Bureau of Immigration operates in return to Chinese immigrants and by the new instructions issued to immigration officers, regarding their treatment of Chinese who may come to the United States.

On June 26th, 1905, President Roosevelt issued the foregoing order to the United States diplomatic and consular representatives in China, notifying them "That while laborers must be strictly excluded the law must be enforced without harshness and that all unnecessary annoyance towards persons entitled to enter the United States must be scrupulously avoided." This is virtually the gist of the order and anyone at all acquainted with the horrors of the detention shed on our Mail Dock and the insufferable inconveniences to which

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legitimate Chinese travelers were subjected while en route across the continent will say that the order was timely, and that were it not that hundreds of instances of abuse existed there would be no occasion for the issuance of such an order.

Notwithstanding the humane character of the President's order and its timeliness, the San Francisco *Examiner*—a newspaper of large circulation—printed an editorial in its issue of June 28th, 1905, quoting from and sharply criticizing the President's instructions. From the editorial I select a few choice sentences not so much for the purpose of attempting to refute them as to compare them with another editorial taken from the same newspaper which I received this morning and which I will also submit to the reader:

> *"A Chinese merchant having the right to land in the United States with a wife would be almost certain to bring in a slave and dispose of her to the dealers."*
>
> *"Perjury is a fine art among the Chinese, and they will spare no pains in the manufacturing of testimony calculated to deceive an unwary Consul."*
>
> *"Every Chinese official, from the highest to the lowest, will commit perjury and accept bribes."*

The foregoing three sentences from the editorial of June 28, are submitted as an example of the way in which even a conservative newspaper speaks of the moral character of Chinese merchants and of Chinese officials.

It is possible for one to believe that the *Examiner's* editor thinks that people will believe that there are no honorable Chinese merchants in this country—merchants who would die rather than sell a human being into slavery. The two sentences on bribery and perjury read well and are—probably—grammatically flawless, but they might be supplemented by another sentence that would not mar the writers thought, and yet would suggest a larger vista to the reader. The sentence that I suggest is the following: "This fine art of perjury has not been and is not now neglected in our own country."

For illustration of the truth of the above sentence see the reports of bribery in the last California Legislature, and see the Examiner since and during the investigation of the

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New York Insurance scandal and for the purpose of comparing the moral condition of our officials with the moral character of the Chinese merchants, officials and others, read the following editorial from the San Francisco *Examiner*, Oct. 12, 1905:

OF COURSE THERE IS PERJURY IN NEW YORK LIFE

MEN THAT WILL STEAL WILL LIE—AND PERJURY IS A MERE JOKE TO THE AMERICAN "GENTLEMAN" OF HIGH FINANCE.

High officials of the New York Life Insurance Company—an organization for the robbery of thousands by a few gentlemanly thieves—have stated under oath that they paid large sums to the Republican campaign fund. The money thus paid was STOLEN from policy holders by the officials responsible. It is now shown that at the time when the corruption money stolen from the policy holders was paid to the Republicans other officials of the New York Life solemnly swear that NO MONEY AT ALL WAS PAID TO THE CAMPAIGN FUND.

———

You have one set of New York Life Insurance Company officials swearing to one statement, AND ANOTHER SET SWEARING TO A STATEMENT EXACTLY OPPOSITE.

Then they are guilty of perjury? Of course they are. But that does not especially excite or interest the public. A thief will commit perjury as a mere matter of course. It is part of his trade.

Theft and perjury are regular details of business life with the high-class scoundrels that have been stealing from the New York Life policy holders—and incidentally giving part of their swag to elect Mr. Roosevelt—believing that the Republican party would interfere with their thieving less than any other.

The public takes FOR GRANTED the perjury and stealing of the insurance men—that is an old story now. The public knows that, as a class, the managers of big and sacred trust funds put in the hands of life insurance companies are THIEVES. They know that these men have piled up their fortunes by contemptible robbery.

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They are not much interested in the details or the individuals thieves. Concerning the chief criminal of the New York Life the public simply says:

"This man did or he did not TAKE THE POLICY HOLDERS' MONEY AND GIVE IT TO THE POLITICIANS.

"He swears—he takes his oath—that he DID steal the money of the policy holders and give it to the Republican fund.

"If he swore to the truth he should be put in jail as a common thief and put out of his office as a matter of course.

"If he swore to a lie—trying to cover up something more disreputable—that he should be prosecuted for perjury—AND PUT OUT OF HIS OFFICE AS A MERE MATTER OF COURSE."

The case of such a man and those like him is very simple. He has confessed to acts that would put any small scoundrel in jail. He OUGHT TO BE IN JAIL.

He may stay out of jail—and others like him may do the same. But they will owe their being at large to the fact that in America big thieves are allowed to go free. Judges and prosecuting officers cannot see their way to attacking them.

———

More interesting than the fate of the confessed thieves of the New York Life Insurance Company is the attitude of President Roosevelt toward the men THAT CONTRIBUTED STOLEN MONEY TO HIS CAMPAIGN.

We accept in good faith the statement of his friends that he will compel restitution of the money that was stolen—without his knowledge—and spent on HIS ELECTION.

He knows now, from statements made under oath, that the money of Democrats and Republicans was stolen from them—and paid over to his personal agent to be spent for his benefit.

Of course he will not allow this theft to stand. He

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could not do so as an honorable man—even if he had to make good the fifty thousand dollars out of his own pocket—taking a year of the salary paid him by the people for that purpose.

Mr. Roosevelt will follow the dictates of common decency and honesty. He will force repayment of the policy holders' stolen money, in time. But the question is, HOW MUCH TIME?

Mr. Roosevelt should be prompt as well as honest. His friends say he means to do his duty. That is not enough.

He should say for himself, AT ONCE, that he will not allow any policy holder to have a claim against him or his Administration for stolen money—HE SHOULD COMPEL RESTITUTION IMMEDIATELY. After that—of course—he should use his influence to force energetic prosecution of the national thieves.

I am not saying that the foregoing editorial is at all exaggerated in its statements, it is probably far within the bounds of the truth in the matter that is discussed. The truth is that our "High financiers" are such gigantic thieves that the common mind is stunned at the revelations that have been made and that are now in process of investigation. And the law is so powerless to grapple with the matter that public opinion is paralyzed, not knowing what may turn up next, but with a distinct feeling that wherever the receipt and expenditure of large amounts of money are going on, there may be expected bribery, perjury and theft. And so it is not to be wondered at that an editorial writer after throwing off a thousand words on the theft committed by the directors of the big iron and steel syndicates, or after having commented upon the manners and morals of the managers of Insurance companies now in process of investigation, should when instructed to write upon the exclusion act in any of its phrases say things haphazard about Chinese merchants. which he knows to be true in regard to the methods of some American financiers. This will make nice reading in China, among the people that are supposed to be in need of the

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"lights of Christianity and of Science, and the genius of Republicanism."

> *The free labor of the Pacific Coast will not submit to be driven to the verge of starvation as it was twenty-five years ago when Denis Kearney, on the sand lot in San Francisco, voiced up the cry, "The Chinese must go!"*

The foregoing is the last sentence in the *Examiner's* editorial of June 28, 1905, and it is introduced to show the difficulties that beset people when they attempt to bolster up a cause that has neither moral foundation nor economic necessity. There are no people publishing daily newspapers on this continent who should be more familiar with the economic principles which, if enacted into Statute in California, would have made labor free at least in this State. For it is safe to say that the *Examiner* has printed the principles of the true political economy more than a hundred times during the past ten years, and the *Examiner* people know that if millions of acres of land that are held out of legitimate economic use in California—held for speculation—were set free by statute the times that Philip Roach spoke of in 1852, and that Mr. Gompers hinted at in "Meat vs. Rice," would again return to California to remain permanently, not only to bless the people of this State, but to be an object lesson that would inevitably move the people of every other State in this Union to like action. Not only that, but the most ignorant foreign demagogue who opens his mouth to pour filth upon a peaceful and industrious people would be so benefited by the freedom of access to natural opportunities that there would be no reasonable excuse for his continuing in an occupation that added neither wealth to the country, nor honor to himself. Is there a man among them that has the courage to come out and tell this truth? No man or official that takes a reasonable ground in relation to the enforcement of the Exclusion law finds any favor with the exclusionists. Governor Pardee, of California, was interviewed at Portland, on August 18th, 1905, in regard to his utterances on a former occasion. The Governor is in favor of shutting out the undesirable classes that come to us from all the countries of Europe, a position which—if we permit

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immigration at all—is in accordance with good sense. Yet, the Governor was put down as "trimming" on Chinese exclusion. To show how fairminded and moderate the Governor was in his statement the interview with him is herewith printed.

Governor Pardee said:

"My position is essentially the same as that of President Roosevelt—that the present law, wisely enforced, will permit the admission of all Chinese who are desirable. Perhaps it is not wise to shut out students, Chinese travelers of a high class, or *bona-fide* merchants, or even to detain them unreasonably at the immigration stations. But there really is no Chinese exclusion question, and should be none. The law is there and is sufficient.

"In California the sentiment against letting down the bars is particularly in evidence, because the Chinese population in this country is largest there. I do not know how strong the sentiment is in favor of making some sort of concession to the Chinese in order to have the boycott called off, as voiced by the Merchants' Exchange. Most of the Chinese trade of the United States centers in California, and consequently the business influence is strong enough to demand recognition, but not much of this talk reaches Sacramento.

"In my opinion the United States Government should investigate this boycott and ascertain just how far, if at all, it is backed by the Pekin Government, or whether it is merely a local agitation. I believe that the United States should get around the diplomatic difficulty created by the present exclusion law by making it apply to all countries and shutting out all immigrants of a like undesirable class. This would do away with Chinese resentment because of discrimination against them."

The Governor refused to say whether, in his opinion, the present law was enforced rigidly enough.

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"Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets."
—Matt. 7:12.

"What you do not want to be done to you, do not do it to others."
—Confucius.

Era of Demagogism.

The following paragraph is taken from O'Donnell's Sandlot speech of July, 1877: "Take a tropical plant—take anything that is indigenous to the tropics. Dig it up from the earth and send it to a northern climate. What is the result? Why, it dies. So of the coolie who is imported here from Asia,—a country within the tropics, only a few degrees north of the equator. He comes here and frets and sweats and stinks, and breeds a pestilence and corrupts your youth; and then he dies in his own peculiar rottenness. And after death he is assigned a place in his own peculiar hell. He is outside of our social pale; outside of our political pale; outside of our sympathies: outside of our religion. He is an outsider altogether."

The most prejudiced reader can hardly fail to see that the above is a most untruthful description of the quiet, patient and faithful Asiatic laborer. Yet its untruth is but mild in comparison with many sentences which one might cull from the speeches which O'Donnell had been delivering to San Francisco audiences for ten years prior to the advent of Dennis Kearny.

O'Donnell not only places the Chinese "outside the pale of our religion," but he follows them even into the most infernal portions of the next world and there ruthlessly consigns them to "their own peculiar Hell!" And he does this with an unction and a gusto which only those who hear him can suitably appreciate.

Is it anything to be marveled at, then, that the public preaching of such blasphemous doctrine and the reiterated inculcation of such inhuman sentiments should incite to riot, bloodshed and murder?

When Kearney came upon the platform he addressed audi-

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ences whose minds were already poisoned and inflamed by the vituperative and incendiary speeches of the emotional, inflammatory and reckless O'Donnell. Minds in such a condition needed but the electric spark from the overcharged batteries of the Irish Drayman, with his spontaneous eloquence, racial wit and shrewd tact to fan into deadly conflagration the flames of the dangerous fire which the so-called "Doctor" had so zealously kindled.

Dr. O'Donnell is a native of Maryland. He claims that his ancestors fought for American liberty in the War of the Revolution. I mention this because the Chinese have frequently charged,—and with some degree of truth—that the main opposition to the presence of the Chinese in this country comes from the Irish. Dr. O'Donnell is no more an Irishman than President Roosevelt is a Hollander. And Denis Kearney, though unmistakably Irish by descent, does not represent the general sentiment of the Irish people of California any more than the Hon. Horace Davis represents the prevailing sentiment of the so-called American element of our population in their antagonism to the Chinese.

I select the Hon. Horace Davis as a typical example of Native American opposition to the Chinese. But, in justice as well as in truth, one should name also those whom California has sent to the National Legislature for the last thirty years.

I by no means desire to justify, or wholly excuse, the Irish in their opposition to the introduction of Chinese labor into America. Yet I think statistics show and facts prove that the majority of outrages upon the Chinese were perpetrated by men and boys whose names go to show them Irish either by birth or origin. A single fact easily explains this: the presence of the Chinese immigrant in the United States began to become irritating, aggravating and provoking to the Irish as soon as it became apparent that the Chinese almost exclusively, persistently and increasingly invaded occupations usually claimed and almost monopolized by the Irish.

But, here again, history repeated itself. Generations before the immigrant Irishman had invaded the occupations previously practiced, with almost absolute exclusiveness, by the Native American laborer. His invasion had threatened the Native American as the Chinese was now threatening himself.

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And that same Native American had "kicked" at the immigrant Irishman as vigorously as his Irish supplanter now kicks at his own celestial successor. Then, as now, the "kick" became strong enough and general enough to attract public attention only when the Irish new-comer began to underbid the Native American,—to take his work away and cause the inevitable resultant, suffering.

Another,—and a most important point which the fair-minded reader will not fail to keep in mind. At the period when Chinese immigration was greatest the Irish-born residents of San Francisco out-numbered all other foreigners combined. On the Great Register of San Francisco, for 1867, they numbered more than 10,000, exceeding the aggregate of all others of foreign birth!

That number of voters would indicate a large Irish population. As a natural consequence, if one class of foreigners, who had the right to vote, perpetrated outrages upon another class who had not that right, the names of the offenders would show them largely of Irish origin.

This opposition to foreign labor is by no means confined to any race, place or time. As far as history extends its pages show that man has always resented the in-coming of competition. The natural man is an instinctive monopolist. He wants it all. At this very moment nearly all the laborers of this city exercise their prejudice and contempt upon the man they call the "Dago." Quite a large class of them also extend their hatred and insult to the Scandinavian. They complain that the "Swedes cut prices" and rail bitterly against the "Swedish scab."

Still another reinforcement to our argument we find in the all-round prejudice against the "Sheeny."

Thus it would not be at all difficult to prove that weak and ignorant and selfish humanity,—even before the scriptural times,—has always sought a "scape-goat." And when he has failed to *find* one he has hastened to *make* one.

Indeed the weakness, the ignorance and the selfishness seem racial and perpetual. And we ought, the rather, to rejoice that our present scape-goat,—the Chinese, is not only in our midst but, especially, that they seem so willing to bear the burden of our sins provided the maledictions we heap upon

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them are confined to "hot air" and are not accompanied with avalanches of cuffs, kicks and bricks.

This somewhat long digression results from the desire of the writer to place those two vicious demagogues, O'Donnell and Kearney, where they properly belong in the history of the Anti Chinese agitation in San Francisco.

Opposition to Chinese admission and employment continued. When crops failed or came short or when anything occurred to interfere with the usual regular progress of things industrial, labor's extremity became the waiting demagogue's opportunity. Forthwith he sprang to the front to proclaim with the voice of the untiring Stentor that the working man who could *not* vote was the potent and guilty cause of all the misfortunes of the man who *had* the ballot. This was their logic. And the poor fools who believed it were far less guilty than the blatant frauds who preached it.

From the time of the Kearney crusade to the present the successive clamors and crusades against the non-voting laborer have coincided with some general financial depression or they have broken out in the midst of some California election in which unscrupulous office seekers, who are generally shameless pelf-hunters, strove to aggravate the prejudice known to exist against the non-voting alien and to make it a factor to be used "where it would do the most good," that is, would best serve his own selfish purpose.

But during the Kearney agitation,— as well as in every other,— the Chinese by no means slept on their rights. They prepared abundant and cogent arguments to refute the lying charges made against them by the ignorance and viciousness of the self-seeking demagogues. The writer submits the subjoined document as a specimen of the temperate, truthful and logical manner in which they met and refuted every charge brought against them:

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF THE PRO-CHINESE MINORITY.

They are:

First—To hold opposite views on the question of Chinese immigration which is national in character and debatable, and to support the same by argument either spoken or written until the question is formally decided by the proper authority.

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Second—To demand that in the meantime the opposite or anti-Chinese side shall not be permitted to forestall the decision of the National Congress, to whom this question has been submitted by both parties, and which is the only civil body duly authorized to pass upon questions of this nature. We shall strongly protest, therefore, against all incendiary appeals, threats against life and property and display of armed organizations for the purpose of intimidation, as being contrary to the constitutional right of citizens to hold different opinions in all national questions.

Third—To require that the party in favor, as well as the one against Chinese immigration, shall fully acquiesce to the decision of the National Congress, as required by the Constitution. For as this country is not the property of any class of foreigners either from Ireland, England, or any other land; but belongs to the American people, if any class of foreigners who have obtained a courteous hospitality here, are dissatisfied with a like concession made to the Chinese, they have an easy way to obtain relief from the alleged grievance, which is to pack up their effects and leave.

These rights we will maintain at all costs and hazards; because to surrender them would be to surrender the best boon of free manhood and of Constitutional liberty; it would be the first step toward the overthrow of the Republic, and the inauguration of a despotism far worse than imperialism; it would be Communism in its worst phase, mob rule, anarchy and social chaos.

We therefore openly declare from this moment, that "if the Chinese must go" it shall not be at Kearney's bidding, nor of his followers; but by the will of the American people, legally expressed, after a due consideration of the case *pro* and *con*, and of our commercial interests.

As for ourselves, being honestly and firmly convinced that Chinese immigration is beneficial to the State and nation, to commerce as well as labor, by reason of the multiplicity of industry which it helps to create, and of the boundless resources of our State which it aids to develop in the absence of capital, we shall, with all the force of argument at our command, endeavor to dissuade the American people and their policy, which, if followed, will gladden the hearts of the

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enemies of Republican prosperity, of civil and religious liberty.

With this object in view, while the anti-Chinese agitation continues, we shall publish a series of arguments and documents both old and new, in favor of Chinese immigration, and in reply to the trite charges against the Chinese which, though refuted a thousand times, they are as often repeated by anti-Chinese journals and speakers. Our series under the heading "The Voice of the Minority on the Chinese Question," begins with a reply by the representatives of the Chinese on this coast, contained in a memorial to the President of the United States, which, although published two years ago, it has lost none of its force, and is above parallel in directness and simplicity, when compared with the windy effusions of anti-Chinese demagogues. As a model of respectful and polite language, it may be studied with profit by the sand-lot talkers many of whom, though members of the ONE HOLY AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH, may, by this document, learn to speak the truth from the Heathen Chinee.

THE VOICE OF THE MINORITY ON THE CHINESE QUESTION.

NO. 1.

ANTI-CHINESE CHARGES REFUTED BY CHINESE.

(*a*) It is charged against us that not one virtuous China-woman has been brought to this country, and that here we have no wives or children.

The fact is that already a few hundred Chinese families have been brought here. These are all chaste, pure, keepers-at-home, not known on the public street. There are also among us a few hundred, perhaps a thousand, Chinese children, born in America.

The reason why so few of our families are brought to this country is, because it is contrary to the custom and against the inclination of virtuous Chinese women to go so far from home, and because the frequent outbursts of popular indignation against our people have not encouraged us to bring our families with us against their will.

Quite a number of Chinese prostitutes have been brought to this country by unprincipled Chinamen, but these, at first, were brought from China at the instigation, and for the gratification of white men. And even at the present time, it is commonly reported that a part of the proceeds of this

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villainous traffic goes to enrich a certain class of men belonging to this Honorable nation—a class of men, too, who are under solemn obligation to suppress the whole business, and who certainly have it in their power to suppress it, if they so desired.

A few years ago, our Chinese merchants tried to send these prostitutes back to China, and succeeded in getting a large number on board the out-going steamer; but a certain lawyer of your Honorable nation, (said to be the author and bearer of the resolutions against our people) in the employ of unprincipled Chinamen, procured a writ of "habeas corpus." and brought all those women ashore again, and the Courts decided that they had a right to stay in this country if they so desired. Those women are still here and the only remedy for this evil and also for the evil of Chinese gambling, lies, so far as we can see, in an houest and impartial administration of Municipal Government in all its details, even including the police department. If officers would refuse bribes, then unprincipled Chinamen would no longer purchase immunity from the punishment of their crimes.

(*b*) It is charged against us that we have purchased no real estate. The general tone of public sentiment has not been such as to encourage us to invest in real estate, and yet our people have purchased and now own over $800,000 worth of real estate in San Francisco alone.

(*c*) It is charged against us that we eat rice, fish and vegetables. It is true that our diet is slightly different from the people of this Honorable country; our tastes in these matters are not exactly alike and cannot be forced. But is that a sin on our part, of sufficient gravity to be brought before the President and Congress of the United States?

(*d*) It is charged that the Chinese are no benefit to this country. Are the railroads built by Chinese labor no benefit to the country? Are the manufacturing establishments, largely worked by Chinese labor no benefit to this country? Do not the daily toil of a hundred thousand men increase the riches of this country? Is it no benefit to this country that the Chinese annually pays over $2,000,000 duties at the Custom House of San Francisco? Is not the $200,000 annual poll tax paid by the Chinese any benefit? And are not the

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hundreds of thousands of dollars taxes on personal property and the Foreign Miners' tax, annually paid to the revenues of this country, any benefit?

(*e*) It is charged against us that the "Six Chinese Companies" have secretly established judicial tribunals, jails and prisons, and secretly exercise judicial authority over the people. This charge has no foundation in fact. These Six Companies were originally organized for the purpose of mutual protection and care of our people coming to and from this country. The Six Companies did not claim, nor do they exercise any judicial authority whatever; but are the same as any tradesmen or protective and benevolent societies. If it were true that the Six Chinese Companies exercised judicial authority over the Chinese people, then why do all the Chinese people go to American tribunals to adjust their differences or to secure the punishment of their criminals?

Neither do these Companies import either men or women into this country.

(*f*) It is charged that all Chinese laboring men are slaves. This is not true in a single instance. Chinamen labor for bread. They pursue all kinds of industries for a livelihood.

Is it so then that every man laboring for his livelihood is a slave? If these men are slaves, then all men laboring for wages are slaves.

(*g*) It is charged that the Chinese commerce brings no benefit to American Bankers and Importers. But the fact is that an immense trade is carried on between China and the United States by American merchants, and all the carrying business of both countries, whether by steamers, sailing vessels or railroad, is done by Americans. No China ships are engaged in the carrying traffic between the two countries.

Is it a sin to be charged against us that the Chinese merchants are able to conduct their mercantile business on their own capital? And is not the exchange of millions of dollars annually by the Chinese with the banks of this city any benefit to the banks?

(*h*) We respectfully ask a careful consideration of all the foregoing statements. The Chinese are not the only people nor do they bring the only evils that afflict the country. And since the Chinese people are now here under solemn treaty

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rights, we hope to be protected according to the terms of this treaty.

But, if the Chinese are considered detrimental to this country, and if our presence here is offensive to the American people, let there be a modification of existing treaty relations between China and the United States, either prohibiting or limiting Chinese immigration, and if desirable, requiring also the gradual retirement of the Chinese people now here from this country. Such an arrangement, though not without embarrassment to both parties, we believe, would not be altogether unacceptable to the Chinese Government and doubtless, it would be very acceptable to a certain class of people in this Honorable country.

With sentiments of profound respect,

LEE MING HOW,
Pres't Sam Yup Company.
LEE CHEE KWAN,
Pres't Yung Wo Company.
LAW YEE CHUNG,
Pres't Kong Chow Company.
CHAN LEUNG KOK,
Pres't Ning Yung Company.
LEE CHEONG CHIP,
Pres't Hop Wo Company.
CHAN KONG CHEW,
Pres't Yan Wo Company.
LEE TONG HAY,
Pres't Chinese Young Men's Christian Association.

Although the foregoing document was published as long ago as March 26th, 1878, the fair-minded reader will observe that it might have been written today. Its descriptions of the gambling and other crimes so rampant and flagrant in Chinatown might apply now as truthfully as then.

But the "rub" is here: When our people demand of their municipal government that it stamp out gambling and prostitution in Chinatown this damnable and damning fact confronts them: public authority sufficiently recognizes the legality of such "industries" to protect them from suppression. It goes farther. It not only does not suppress them, except possibly, where no "boodle" or "graft" is forthcoming—but

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it seldom or never even oppressively "regulates" them when the preventive "consideration" is timely and sufficient.

The regular peddling of lottery tickets is almost openly carried on in this city. It is a notorious fact that the proprietors of the "Little Louisiana" and other noted lotteries are well-known citizens of this "moral" community. They maintain their "offices" in a prominent and centrally located building of this city. Thus, in the estimation of the municipal guardians of the public virtue, gambling becomes vicious only when the Chinese attempt it. But "worse remains behind." In certain quarters the streets are full of painted and decorated harlots, not Chinese but Caucasian,—but we must never mention it. It is not polite,—it is indelicate and positively ill-bred to discuss such a subject when the men and women concerned in it belong to our own race.

How prophetically Hamlet anticipated our twentieth-century municipal morals when he adjured his mother:

"Assume a virtue if you have it not!"

As early as 1878 a Special Committee of the California Legislature critically and very rigidly investigated this whole Chinese Question. Their very elaborate and exhaustive report anyone may read who will. Nearly every witness was very clearly and strongly prejudiced against the Chinese. Yet some of the testimony then elicited threw great light upon the industrial situation in this State at that time. It especially proved the great difficulty which men of capital then encountered in attempting to establish and conduct manufactures of any product seeking a local market in competition with the cheap products of the country east of the Rocky Mountains. Here is a part of Max Morganthau's testimony:

Questions by Mr. Haymond:

Q. How many men do you employ?

A. In the neighborhood of two thousand.

Q. How many Chinamen?

A. Nearly half.

Q. How do the wages of the white men compare with those of the Chinamen?

A. They are from two hundred to three hundred per cent higher.

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Mr. Pierson: How does their labor compare with that of whites?

A. It depends upon the kind of labor. In weaving, the Chinamen gets very little until he learns the business; then we give him from ninety cents to one dollar twelve and a half cents per day. If we had to employ only white men, we could not run our factories—we would have to stop them. The whites do more work than the Chinese, and even where the experience is the same they do more. We have women who run two looms. Some Chinamen are good weavers but many are not. We pay by the hour, so the ones that do the most work earn the most money. When we want Chinamen we go to some company and say we want so many men, and we get them. Their wages we pay to the company, or the man who gets them for us, taking his receipt.

Q. What effect do you think the presence of these Chinese laborers have upon the working classes?

A. I have come to the conclusion that this immigration will, in the course of time, be a very serious thing for this State. My opinion up to this time is, that they have been of great advantage to this coast. I know what difficulty we had with this white labor. We started with white labor. One day, some three years ago, we concluded to put some boys to work; so, put in eighty-five sewing machines, and employed that many boys. One day I found all the sewing machines empty. I asked the Superintendent what was the matter—where were the boys; he said that they had all left him. I asked on what grounds. He said that they generally stopped at twelve o'clock, but the boys did not come back when their noon hour was up. Some came at two o'clock, some later, and some not for two days. They nearly all came back at last, and were asked why they acted so. They said they were off on a pleasure trip around the bay. He said that they must not do so again, for if they did we could not go on with the work. Two or three expressed themselves as dissatisfied with this, and said: "Boys, let's take our hats and jackets, and let them go to hell." So the boys left. I have no love for Chinamen, but we can have no control over the white boys.

Q. When you first employed Chinese labor, there were very few boys in the country, and very little female labor?

A. Yes, sir.

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Q. So that Chinese labor was a makeshift, in the first place?

A. Yes; and we were glad to get it. I will say now, that if this immigration keeps up, it will affect the country disastrously. I have read the newspapers, and listened to a good many speakers, but have not been able to see my way out. A few years ago some gentlemen came here from the Eastern States, and I gave them money to start a candle and soap factory. For ten or eleven months we did not hire a single Chinaman. Men would come to me and ask for work, and I would give it to them—paying green hands one dollar and fifty cents per day. Before they learned they generally caused much damage in waste of material and breakage of machinery. I engaged ten or eleven girls to do easy work, paying them at the start ninety cents a day. I made it my business to go out there every morning at half six o'clock to see that steam was up, and one morning found all the girls gone. I was told they had taken a holiday on account of somebody. I said "I know what holidays are; we have Sundays, Fourth of July, Christmas, New Year, and even St. Patrick's Day, but this man I never heard of. Didn't the girls give you some notice?" "They did not give us notice," I was told, "they simply did not come." He told them they would have to stop that, and they wouldn't do it, so we were compelled to discharge every one of them. They thought it was better fun bumming around in the street instead of earning an honest living. I came from Bavaria, and there every boy must learn a trade, no matter whether his father has five dollars, of fifty millions of dollars.

Q. Don't the Chinese fill the places in the lighter employments usually filled by boys and girls—and is not that a cause of hoodlumism?

A. That is their own fault, if it is so. I don't know.

Q. Suppose the Chinese should start to work in Bavaria, as they have here—.

A. I don't think that government would submit to it. If the Chinese flowed in upon them it would compel them to take care of their own people.

Mr. Haymond: Don't you think it is bad to have a class of immigration into any country, where they come for the

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purpose of acquiring a little money, bringing no families, and never buying land?

A. I have hoped for the last six or eight years that the Chinese would come here with their wives, raise children, educate them as our own children are educated, cut off their queues, and dress like us, but I think that cannot be. They consume much of our produce, and a large portion of our manufactures are used by them, however. During certain months of the year we make nothing but cassimeres for the Chinese. Whatever wages they can save they send to China, yet they necessarily spend considerable here. If we could not employ Chinese we would have to stop work for the present, and people would have to send abroad for these goods. That would be as bad as sending the money to China.

Mr. Donovan: Would it not be better for the American people to have goods made East, by whites, than by Chinese, in California?

A. My principle is, that charity should commence at home.

The most casual reader will note,—as he cannot fail to do, —that this witness displayed unmistakable prejudice against the Chinese. Yet truth compelled him to admit that without them there could have been no Woolen Manufacturing on this Coast even at as late a date as 1877.

Note another and most important point:

The last question answered by Mr. Morgenthau shows to what extremes some men will go to make a point. The questioner, Mr. Donovan, would have had his audience believe that it would be better to send all our money out of California rather than employ Chinese. If all the people of California had indorsed and acted upon that suggestion California would this day be without manufacturing establishments in which the native youth of this City and State find regular and remunerative employment. Why? Because nearly every one of such establishments could not have been started at all without the aid of Chinese labor.

Although the Kearney period of Chinese persecution reached its height about 1880, its evil effects continued long after that period. All the exclusionists unanimously agreed upon the vital necessity of ridding the State of the Chinese

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already in it, sharply penalizing their return and rigidly prohibiting the coming of any others.

Great jealousy of Mr. Kearney arose. Some openly charged him with conduct unbecoming a teacher of morals and a champion of purity. Many of his successive former lieutenants aspired to supplant him in the leadership which should conduct the great army of manual toilers into that Utopia of Labor, the Promised Land wherein no Chinese Competition could threaten wage-reduction and they could serenely rejoice in "Four Dollars a Day and Roast Beef!"

Frank Roney, who had been one of Kearney's earlier lieutenants, became the President of the "League of Deliverance" whose purpose was the Boycotting of the Chinese and the most urgent hastening of their immediate departure by legal statute rigidly enforced.

All human organizations organized for the purpose of denying to others the rights which they claim for themselves inevitably develop the inherent viciousness of human selfishness. This "League of Deliverance" proved no exception. It presently needed deliverance from itself, and salvation from its own officious officials. After a career which closely bordered on intimidation and black mail, its unlawful methods of procedure became so flagrant that the great majority of its members demanded of its leaders that they step down and out. This they speedily did lest a worse thing befall them. Thus ended one of the earliest "Boycott Movements" of California. The following editorial from the San Francisco *'Chronicle'* of July 14th, 1882, shows how miserable it failed and the yet more miserable causes which made that failure a most righteous retribution.

THE BOYCOTTING LEAGUERS.

Whatever motive may have originated it, if we do not mistake its present quality, the so-called "League of Deliverance" has degenerated into one of those things against which all honest people should combine to rid the city of it. The pretense of its leaders is that they are earnestly working to protect white labor from degrading competition with the products of cheap Chinese labor. This is well enough so long as they work by lawful and decent methods. The sure way to accomplish the object would be for the Leaguers to enlist as many

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as they can in an agreement not to purchase any goods or wares of Chinese production, and to stick to this agreement themselves. But this is not their method. The course they are taking is one that has a strong flavor of blackmail and unlawful intimidation. They assess merchants, for instance, so much a month, and exact from them, in addition to the assessment, a pledge not to sell anything of Chinese production. Who pockets this money? There are many hundreds of merchants in this city who might be so assessed and taxed; in fact, many who *do* sell or peddle Chinese productions, some of them being taxed and belonging to the League. This was clearly explained by the remarks of one of the Leaguers at the Hopkins Hall meeting of the League—Branch No. 7—on Wednesday night. He sold potatoes branded "Hong Wo," but, as he explained, the Leaguers were among his willing purchasers. Is the man who sells the contraband article more culpable, more in the line of encouraging Chinese competition than the man who buys? Certainly not. In this case the buyers were the Leaguers themselves, some of whom have recently introduced the boycotting method against the merchants for doing just the same thing—buying where they could buy cheapest. We denounce all such inconsistencies as outrageous, intolerable and the boycotters who levy the assessments, and yet themselves violate the pledges they exact, as not a whit better than blackmailers; and we insist that they give an account of the moneys so collected, and that the police shall see to it that any such boycotters in the future be instantly arrested and suppressed. Here is the form and substance of the certificate this impudent "League of Deliverance" is in the habit of using to intimidate merchants and make them pay assessments:

The Pacific Coast League of Deliverance hereby grants this certificate to ——, and recommends him as dealing in white-labor goods only. The certificate is to be retained by him so long as *he pays* the monthly assessment of one-half dollar and conforms to the requirements of the League of Deliverance.

(Signed.) —— ——, Chairman.
—— ——, Secretary.

Now what business has this new-fangled corporation to go about the city carrying this sort of money-getting intimida-

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tion among the retail merchants? Is that a decent way to collect four bits a month from a retail merchant? Who gets the money? Who accounts for the collections? We are told that the Leaguers are entering people's private houses and warning them against extending patronage in any way to anyone who sells Chinese products. We advise all people so insulted to peremptorily turn the intruders out of doors, and if they add a kick it will not be amiss. The Chinese who are here are here by the invitation and permission of the Government. They have a lawful right to work and sell what they produce, and no illegal means can be adopted to impair this right.

But two months after this editorial general popular disapproval compelled the "League" to abandon the field. The majority of the newspapers, even those most opposed to the Chinese, became implacably hostile to the continuance of the twin crimes of "Boycott and Blackmail."

During the year 1886 two Anti-Chinese Conventions assembled in California. No good or sufficient reason justified the calling of either. Labor then received as much compensation in California as in any other State in the entire Union. But even had a grievance of sufficient magnitude existed one convention should have proved amply sufficient for the adequate expression of all their fancied woes.

An extract from the manifesto put forth by one of the conventions suffices to show the same old wail and the same voluntary and monumental ignorance of the real cause of the alleged hard times in California at that time, or, in fact, at any other time. They say:

"For thirty years has the presence of the Chinese been the constantly recurring cause of riot, incendiarism and bloodshed. We have sought in vain to remedy this evil by Congressional legislation. The so-called 'Registration Act' has been entirely inefficient. It has provided but a network through which the wily Mongolian has easily passed.

Large numbers of Chinamen are brought here in transit and transferred to vessels going to British Columbia or to Mexico. In addition, Mexico is importing large numbers of Coolies directly from China. Both on the northern and southern borders a profitable traffic is being carried on by assisting these Coolies to cross the boundary lines into the United

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States. No sensible diminution of the number of Chinese in California is apparent. On the contrary, it is increasing. This State of things has become intolerable and we have at last been compelled to take the matter into our own hands.'

The Sacramento Convention represented all classes of citizens from all parts of the State and by its firm and united action evinced a determination to forever stamp out this evil.

The Convention pointed out the means to attain an end so justifiable and so earnestly desired. The remedy suggested has been taught us by the Chinese. It is the Boycott. From their first landing on our shores the Chinese have pursued us with a thoroughly organized and skillfully commanded army of boycotters, which has driven our workingmen, our women and our children from the factory and workshop, with a persistent energy. The Mongolian boycotts as effectively when he works at so low a rate that the wages he receives will not provide an existence acceptable to the American, as though he forced him by violence from his employment. Thousands of our people have been driven back to their homes in the east and hundreds of thousands have been prevented from availing themselves of the unrivaled advantages of our western Paradise. Not only have the Chinese boycotted our laboring men and women, but they boycott our productions and manufactures and have obtained monopolies of many branches of business from which we are completely excluded by their serf labor. This is the curse which has blighted the prosperity of the State and from this curse it is our hope that the people will redeem themselves.

The foregoing is a part of the address of the Sub-Executive Committee.

The following prominent citizens of California and Nevada signed the report: C. F. McGlashan, James H. Barry, P. Reddy, Wm. M. Hinton, J. M. Clark, H. D. Houghan.

The following document was also issued from that Convention as a separate leaflet. In it the boycotters seemingly strove to set themselves right with the conservative element. It bore date March 31, 1886, and promulgated the following prohibitions:

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"BOYCOTTING PROHIBITS:

1st. The Employment of Chinese in Any Capacity.

2d. Patronizing Chinese or Purchasing the Products of their Labor.

3d. Selling to, or Dealing with, Chinamen, their Patrons or Employees, except where legal obligations exist, as in cases of Common Carriers, Water Companies, etc., etc.

4th. Any Resort to Violence, Threats, Intimidations or Illegal Methods.

V. HOFFMEYER, Secretary.

Mr. McGlashan was a prominent member of a fraternal organization and it was no doubt supposed that, as Chairman of the Sub-Executive Committee, he could influence his Pythian associates.

Messrs. Barry and Hinton were both disciples of Henry George, but neither of them appeared to have been able to apply the philosophy of Mr. George to the solution of the question at issue.

The California Anti-Chinese Non-Partisan Association ended, as so many of its predecessors had done, without having accomplished its purpose, if, indeed, like many of them, it had materially advanced it. The Boycotters found that the Chinese had become so much an integral, if not an essential, part of the industrial occupations and relations of California that they gave over the fight and, as one of its members expressed it, they "completely fizzled out."

To attempt the description, or even the catalogue, of the various other spasms of persecution organized up to 1901 would be hardly more than a repetition of what we have already written and would lack variety sufficient to sustain interest or command attention. But, before leaving this branch of the subject, permit the introduction of specimen extracts from some of the speeches delivered in Congress by California Congressmen defending the several Anti-Chinese bills. They furnish remarkably choice specimens of what we may justly term proscriptive literature. The first comes from a speech made by Judge Maguire in defense of an Amendment to an "Act Prohibiting the Coming of Chinese Persons into the United States." Judge Maguire was probably the ablest representative that California ever sent to the National House of Representatives. His speech bears no resemblance to any

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other ever delivered in Washington upon the subject of Chinese Exclusion. I can give the reader no adequate idea of it.

Before leaving this branch of the subject, I wish to give the reader some extracts from a speech delivered in Congress by Judge James G. Maguire of San Francisco. Most of the Anti-Chinese speeches delivered in Washington by California Congressmen are indeed choice specimens of proscriptive literature. The Judge's speech was a notable exception to the rule—in that respect, that while he spoke for the exclusion of the Chinese, he clearly pointed out the remedy that would make exclusion of any industrious people unnecessary.

He spoke for the exclusion of the Chinese. He clearly pointed out the remedy that would make exclusion of any industrious people unnecessary.

A few paragraphs from the Judge's speech would not do him justice, and the subject demands that the best that can be said on both sides shall be given to the people.

JUDGE MAGUIRE.

I am opposed to the extension of the period of registration for the Chinese, and I base my opposition upon a love of humanity as broad and as deep and as strong as that which animates the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Morse] in his mistaken zeal for the improvement of Chinese civilization and the salvation of Chinese souls. I have no prejudice against the Chinese people, no desire to injure them nor to see them injured or oppressed. It is in no spirit of harshness or unkindness to the Chinese that I oppose their immigration to, and their residence in, our country. I base my opposition upon my love for our Caucasian civilization, upon my love for the glorious institutions of liberty, equality, and justice which constitute the crowning glory of my country, and to the defense, support, and promotion of which the life and property and sacred honor of every true American are constantly pledged and dedicated.

I stand upon the universal, God-given right of self-defense. which belongs to communities and to nations, as well as to individuals, and I insist upon the right and the duty of self-defense for our civilization, which is the soul of our national life, as fully as the right and duty of self-defense against armed assailants of our physical autonomy is recognized.

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From the dark ages of universal tyranny and slavery, through centuries scarred by the agonies and stained with the blood and tears of God's noblest children, our civilization has been evolved, and eternal vigilance is the price of its preservation.

Those scarred and blood-stained centuries represent the gulf between our civilization and the semi-barbarism of China. Can these civilizations be mingled, with advantage to the lower and no harm to the higher? That is the theory of the Eastern philanthropists, but it is directly contrary to the knowledge which the evidence of actual experience has given to the West. That experience has demonstrated that, in meeting and mingling, the higher civilization loses a hundred fold more than the inferior gains.

On the abstract question of philanthropy we are not far separated from our Eastern brethren, but, as they see the Chinese problem only in the abstract, they are in no such position as that which we occupy, to balance and compare the advantage and disadvantages of Chinese immigration to the cause of humanity and civilization. The wide difference of sentiment between the East and West on the Chinese question is not due to any fundamental difference in our principles; it is due to the difference between our tolerably complete knowledge of the question and your imperfect knowledge of it. You see the hardships imposed by our Federal laws upon the Chinese, and your sympathies go out to them because you do not see the other side of the picture. We see the oppression, misery, degradation, and slavery to which our own laborers are reduced as a direct result of Chinese immigration. We see that the imported Chinese coolies are mere agencies in the hands of monopolists—domestic and foreign—by which our own people are gradually reduced to a condition of wretchedness approximating to the social condition of the Chinese slaves, and without the slightest feeling of malice against the unfortunate Chinamen we demand their exclusion and their deportation as necessary measures of defense to our own people.

* * * * * * * * * *

Compliance with the Geary law was easy. Compliance with it would have secured to those lawfully within our borders the right to reside here just as long as they might desire. But the

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willful refusal to comply with its provisions imposed certain clearly defined consequences which they have chosen to take rather than to register. In obedience to the decrees of an alien institution in this country, and of alien laws—an Asiatic form of government within our Government—more rigorous and more effective than our laws, they have chosen deportation as a consequence of their refusal to register. That consequence does not flow from our action. It flows from their choice, deliberately made, upon a full year's consideration.

* * * * * * * * * *

Now, Mr. Speaker, the immigration of Chinese to this country and the residence of Chinese amongst us has been to us a curse and a blight. The Pacific coast has felt this, of course, more deeply than any other part of the country. The Pacific coast receives them. Nine-tenths of the Chinamen coming to this country have been sifted through San Francisco. They have been, to some extent, filtered through the rest of the country, but the great burden of all the incubus and of all the hardships resulting from Chinese immigration have fallen on the Pacific coast States and Territories.

* * * * * * * * * *

I was going to say that the people of California are unanimous in their desire to be rid of this element; but unfortunately there are some Californians who are in a position to enjoy the benefits, the substantial benefits, flowing from a system of civilization such as the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sickles] presented here as one agreeable to his mind—the lowest wages at which servile labor can possibly be secured, and an aristocracy of employers growing rich by their privilege of appropriating the fruits of others' toil.

The gentleman favors a higher standard for American labor, but it is manifestly impossible to maintain one standard of wages for American labor and another for alien labor, competing in the same market, with natural opportunities equally closed against them.

The principles of democracy, in accordance with the laws of God, recognize but one rule of right among men. That rule of right awards to labor all that it produces. It is utterly incompatible with the asserted right of any class to live, by privilege, upon the labor of others.

Cheap labor is labor that is worth more than its wages—

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labor that produces more than it receives—and any industrial system which compels labor to give up to a privileged class any portion of the wealth which it produces is a system of robbery, abhorrent to the laws of God and destructive of the primary principle of human association—justice.

There are a few hundred monopolists in California who favor Chinese immigration, because it furnishes them with cheap labor and enables them to live more luxuriously at the expense of the laboring classes.

LAND MONOPOLY AND THE LABOR QUESTION.

"The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Morse] scouted the idea that 90,000 or 100,000 Chinese in this great country could be a source of any real hardship to the country, or any menace to our institutions, social, political or industrial, and as one basis for his statement in that behalf, he called attention to the magnificent, boundless, inexhaustible, natural resources of this country. Our natural resources are, indeed, measureless and inexhaustible, and if they were opened to the people of this country on fair and equal terms—on the terms on which the Great Creator gave them to mankind—the gentleman's argument on that phase of the question would be sound.

But these natural resources, without which labor can produce no wealth at all, are not open to the people. They are monopolized. Monopolized—in that word see, ye ages, "comprized the cause of the curses all annals contain." Chinese would not, and could not, oppress American labor if our lands were free, but, as it is, land monopoly and cheap, imported labor are the upper and the nether millstones between which American labor is being ground into serfdom and pauperism, as I will presently explain. The natural resources of the Pacific coast, the natural resources of our entire country, are the private property of a few individuals.

This great country which we are pleased to call ours, belongs, by legal title, to a few landlords whose number and proportion to the whole people are annually growing less.

Every cheapening of labor, by any means, increases the market value of the land and the rent rolls of its owners; thus, by a double process, widening the gulf between the landless poor and our growing landed aristocracy. American

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labor, driven from the natural sources of independent self-employment, is forced to enter the labor market of cities and towns and compete for employment with the cheapest labor there offered for sale.

The people are responsible because they have the power to correct the evil and do not exercise that power; but it is to be hoped that the people will ere long relieve themselves of that responsibility.

The monopoly of the natural earth and its God-given resources is the colossal crime of modern civilization beside which all other oppressions of the poor are insignificant. Land is the exclusive source of human subsistence. All wealth, all means of physical subsistence, are extracted by labor from the natural earth. Indeed, man is a land animal in every sense. His food, his clothing, his shelter, his very body, all come from the land and all to the land return again. He must live upon the land and from the land, if he live at all. Even the sailor and the aeronaut are not exempt from these conditions of human existence, for the decks trodden by the one and the bars and ropes which support the other are of land.

The right to life, which we all regard as sacred and inalienable, cannot be more sacred than the hight of access to the exclusive means by which life can be supported. "'You take my life when you take the means whereby I live."

Yet, in this land of unexampled and unparalleled political lbierty, a few men own and control the only source from which the masses of the people can draw their subsistence.

Those few have, therefore, the unnatural power to dictate the terms upon which the masses of the people of this country can live—to fix the terms upon which they may have access to the natural resources that the Creator made necessary to the support of their lives. The Creator not only made and freely gave those common resources as a common heritage to all his children for their support and sustenance, but he is constantly from day to day replenishing and improving them by the operation of his natural laws.

The creative power, by its changing seasons, by its sunlight and its rains, and its drifting winds, by its processes of growth and decay in the vegetable and in the animal world, is ever

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building up and replenishing the elements of the land that yields subsistence for mankind.

The unquestioned legal right of our landed class to entirely exclude their fellow-citizens from the lands of our country involves the power to inflict all oppressions less than such exclusion.

We have, therefore, under the forms of the greatest political freedom, a land system which creates an absolute despotism, under which the land-owning classes are lords of the industries, the liberties, and even the lives of the landless fellow-citizens.

In this connection with this institution and this condition that we must consider the question of Chinese immigration. To consider the question abstractly is not to consider it at all. Upon the abstract question of human rights we are practically agreed.

You plead for justice and humanity to 85,000 Chinese. I plead conditions of life are being made harder by competition with Chinese slavery.

You do not see that you are really pleading for an increase of the oppressive power of American landlordism, with very little if any good to the individual Chinamen in whose names you speak.

True, they will be slaves if they are returned to China, but they will be slaves if they remain in this country, and their presence here will tend to degrade our laborers to the level of slavery.

The condition of land monopoly prevailing in this country tends to fix the wages of labor according to the standard of living of the lowest classes of laborers seeking employment in the country.

American labor is no longer free because its natural opportunities for self-employment, though they are measureless and inexhaustible, as the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Morse, has said, are closed against it by monopoly. It can no longer escape from an unsatisfactory labor market, but, in spite of the fact that wages bear no relation whatever to the value of labor, it must bid for employment against the cheapest labor that is there offered.

The tendency and the end of such competition in an over-

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crowded labor market where there is still an army of unemployed laborers, after all demands for labor have been supplied, is to reduce all wages to the line at which the unemployed surplus, facing the alternative of beggary and starvation, are willing to work.

I have seen the whole problem of labor's degradation worked out in practical life before my own eyes. Thirty years ago, Sir, labor in California was comparatively free, because land was comparatively free there. Labor was then paid according to its production and not according to the lowest standard of living prevailing among the laborers, as now. It was then worth what it produced and it was paid accordingly.

Laborers being then free to go upon the virgin soil and build their homes and establish their own industries, and being able there to comfortably feed and clothe their families, and to educate their children in the standard branches of useful learning, were not obliged to remain in the labor market when it offered less favorable conditions. Then California was labor's "Promised Land." Then California was the last rampant from which the boasted and really glorious "standard of American Labor" has been permitted to float.

Then there were in our land no tramps, few paupers and no surplus labor in enforced idleness.

Then sparseness of population and the consequent lack of social advantages, imposed the only hardships that were known. What wonder that those who knew the freedom and the happiness of those conditions yearn for their return!

I saw the change of social conditions come. I saw the shadow of land monopoly steal over and encompass our Golden State. I saw a few hundred men become the absolute owners and masters of her great material resources that were manifestly intended by their Creator to furnish homes and subsistence to 40,000,000 people. I saw an empire of her best and richest land pass by Act of Congress under the dominion of a single, soulless corporation. I saw the gates of natural independence in home and industry closed against American labor.

I saw labor driven from its lucrative and independent retreats in the mountains and valleys into the markets of the

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cities and towns, there to be sold as a commodity at prices fixed by the laws of trade.

I saw the wages of American labor changed from the value of its product down to the price fixed by the alternative of pauperism, while the wealth-producing power of labor was increased, on the average, in all departments of industry elevenfold.

I saw the beneficiaries of monopoly manipulating the labor market to keep the price of labor down. I saw them importing, in tens of thousands, the coolies of China, not for the benefit of Chinamen, as Eastern philanthropists persist in believing, but for the double purpose of bearing the labor market by maintaining a surplus, and of teaching American laborers to live on the rations of Asiatic slavery. These beneficiaries, let me say to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. McCreary], are the Californians whose brass bands and streaming banners heralded the dawn of Asiatic slavery on the Pacific coast in the ratification of the Burlingame treaty; and they, sir, would again furnish bands and banners to celebrate the resumption of their slave traffic if the Geary act were repealed.

In the great State of California, whose natural resources are confessedly capable of supporting 40,000,000 people, I saw the horrors that are supposed to result only from overpopulation, prevailing with a population of only 1,000,000.

I saw the millionaire and the tramp, contemporaneous menaces to our civilization, arise out of these conditions.

I saw the millionaire, without productive effort on his part, become a multi-millionaire, upon the tribute commanded by his purchased and granted privileges; and I saw the army of pauperism growing as he grew, and growing because of the conditions that made him grow—recruited by thousands from the ranks of unemployed labor—a ghastly procession of vice and crime, and rags and filth, and torment and despair, drifting listlessly, as "flotsam and jetsam" on the tide of our civilization, to whatever goal a just God may deem suitable at the close of their earthly hell.

These are the results as I have seen them on the Pacific coast, of land monopoly, supplemented by the importation of Chinese slaves. These are the conditions which we seek to mitigate by the enforcement of the Geary act.

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The picture that I have drawn is no "distorted vision," no "distempered dream," but a stern tragedy in real life enacted in the open light of day. An awful tragedy on which the curtain rose within my memory, and upon the last act of which—the final triumph of humanity over monopoly—I hope to see the curtain fall within my lifetime.

DECLINE AND FALL OF ROME.

These results of land monopoly are not (excepting the Chinese slavery phase) peculiar to California or the West.

They prevail throughout the civilized world, wherever our land system prevails; but in the older sections of our country the change from free conditions antedates the earliest recollections of the generation now upon the stage of public life, and the Chinese phase of our Western problem has no parallel east of the Rocky Mountains.

But it has a striking parallel in the history of the decline and fall of the civilization and power of ancient Rome.

Macaulay tells us that "in the brave days of old," when Rome was mistress of the world; when to be a citizen of Rome was esteemed the proudest privilege of manhood, her "lands were fairly portioned" among her citizens. In the period of her decline and fall the lands had become the property of a few great landlords who employed slaves to work them. The landless citizens, thus excluded from the poor privilege of working as laborers upon the lands which once their fathers owned, drifted helplessly to the cities and towns, and there, in the helplessness of enforced idleness, they sank into pauperism and vice.

"Their debased suffrage became mere merchandise in the market, thus extending instead of controlling the powers of the monopolists. The soldiers of Rome became suppliants for alms and their children hereditary paupers. The outer form of her official life alone preserved the semblance of Rome's departed glory. Then Rome fell and over the sepulchre of her once splendid civilization was written her epitaph: *'Latifundia perdidere Italiam'*.—Great Estates Ruined Italy!"

Shall history be permitted to repeat itself? Shall the lords of our land be permitted to work it with slave labor? Shall they be permitted to exclude our brethren and our fellow-citizens from the poor privilege of earning their living as hired

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laborers upon the land in which by natural right, they have an equal interest with the landlords themselves?

Shall these lords be permitted for their private gain to bring upon our country the curse that shattered the empire of Rome? Shall they be permitted to turn our civilization backward and make the ages of its development droop again?

No; this is our country—our civilization. Their preservation is our first, our highest duty, and is the truest friendship to mankind.

We of the West do not yield to the people of New England in love of humanity. As a Native Son of New England, I glory in her devotion to the cause of liberty and civilization. Our warfare is not against the unfortunate Chinaman. We would rather help them than hurt them.

We are struggling to preserve our own people from the hell of slavery that yawns beneath them. That accomplished, we will, in proportion to our means, match every dollar and every effort that New England will contribute for the enlightment and the civilization of the Chinese and for the betterment of their moral and social condition. Until American labor shall be made free we demand that it be protected from the competition of slavery. The emancipation of our own labor is the only just alternative for the exclusion and deportation of the Chinese. This brings me to the discussion of the alternative—the emancipation of labor.

HOW TO MAKE LABOR FREE.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Morse] asked: "Who is responsible" for the condition of land monopoly prevailing in this country? and I answered that the people are responsible because they have the power to correct the evil and do not exercise that power.

This question is pertinent and important because if the greatest evil of Chinese immigration results from faults in our land system, it may well be asked why we do not cure those faults and let the Chinese remain?

The gentleman's question, touching, as it does, the very heart of the great social conflict now agitating the civilized world, deserves a more complete and a more detailed answer.

The remedy which I propose for the evil of land monopoly is simple, just, practical and unquestionably sufficient. It is

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this: *To appropriate to public use, by taxation, for the support of our Federal, State and Municipal governments, the entire rental value of all land, irrespective of improvements, and to abolish all other taxes.*

Would that be just? If it would not be just it would not be expedient. I hold that no permanent good ever resulted from an act of injustice. "Never yet did men or nations prosper finally in wrong." Entertaining these views and believing with Daniel Webster that "Justice, sir, is the great interest of man on earth," I am fully convinced, after mature deliberation, that the remedy is not only just in itself, but that it embodies the only means by which justice can be permanently and universally established among men.

Land is the sommon heritage of all mankind. It was freely given by the Creator, with all of its elements and all of its powers, for the equal use and sustenance of all mankind. It was not given to any one generation, nor to any class or classes in any generation, but equally to all mankind, from the first child of nature to the last human creature who shall inhabit the earth.

Land is the common heritage of every child of God—not as the heir of his natural father, not according to the possessions or the will of his natural father, whose right to land perishes with his own life—but as the direct heir of the Universal Father, from whom the right to life, to liberty, to air, to sunlight, are likewise directly inherited.

The true province of government is to regulate the use of this heritage by its citizens while preserving to each his equal right therein.

Why do men monopolize land?

To cure the evil of land monopoly the motive for it must be clearly understood in order that the incentive may be intelligent removed. Is the motive self-aggrandizement, or is it malicious, or is it mercenary? Our common experience is alone necessary to determine the question.

The motive is almost wholly mercenary. The desire for power over other men has its influence, but it is purely incidental.

Profit, either present or prospective, is practically the sole inducement to land monopoly. The profit is yielded either in

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present ground rent or future enhancement of land value.

What is ground rent, and why does land, the natural elements and qualities of which remain unchanged, continue to advance in value in all growing communities?

Who produces the rental value of land? What influence has Chinese slave labor upon ground rent?

Ground rent is the landlords share of production. It is the tribute charged by the owner of the natural earth for allowing others to use it. Its measure is stated by Ricardo to be, referring to any given piece of land: "the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use."

In practice it may be generally stated that the rental value of any given piece of land is the difference between the average value of its product and the average cost (labor and capital) of production, for the period of the lease.

It is therefore manifest that whatever increases the value of the product, without increasoing the cost of production, increases ground rent, as: an increased demand for the product, resulting from increase of population, or other cause, or an improvement in the quality of the product.

It is also manifest that whatever reduces the cost of production tends to increase ground rent, as a reduction of the wages of labor, inventions of labor-saving machinery, and improvements in the methods of combining and subdividing labor.

Thus it is that, under our land system, every contribution to material progress, as well as every reduction in the wages of labor, attaches itself to the land and inures to the benefit of the landlords in increasing ground-rent.

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PUBLIC ENTITLED TO ALL GROUND RENT.

We have now seen, in brief outline, at least, what ground rent is and how it arises. We have seen that it is an increment of value produced and imposed upon the natural earth by the presence, industry, enterprise, inventiveness and virtues of the whole community in which it arises.

We have seen that it absorbs all of the general advantages of the material progress of the whole people; that to the

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landlord it is in every sense an unearned increment to which as land lord he does not in any way contribute.

Merely permitting labor to use land productively is not a contribution, because the land, with all of its useful elements, was given to mankind by God, and would have been accessible to labor if the shadow of landlordism had never darkened the horizon of our civilization.

The landlord is not entitled to the rental value of his location, because he does not produce it.

The community is entitled to the rental value, because the community does produce it. Every value belongs of natural right to him whose labor or service produces it, and without whose labor or service it would not have existed. It is immaterial whether the value be produced by one person, or by ten persons, or by a million persons. It belongs to those who produce it—individually, if it be individually produced, collectively, if it be collectively produced.

* * * * *

A tax on land values is the only property tax that always falls with proportionate equality upon all owners and that cannot be shifted from the person paying it to the ultimate consumer or user. The reason that it cannot be shifted is that while a tax on any other kind of property tends to check its production, and thus, by the law of supply and demand, to increase its price sufficiently to cover the tax, a tax on land values forces idle land into the market, increasing the supply of land offered for sale or lease, and thus, by the same law of supply and demand, reducing, instead of increasing, the rent. Heavy taxation of houses increases the rent of houses by the amount of the tax, but heavy taxation of land values decreases the rent of the land. All political economists agree on this proposition, and it needs no argument.

* * * * *

Your charge of cruelty and inhumanity against us in our treatment of the Chinese is unfounded and unjust. Never have any people been more patient, more law-abiding, or more considerate under the pressure of similar evils than have the people of California in their treatment of the Chinese people.

Chinese exclusion and deportation are merely measures of necessary self-defense, and are in no sense race persecutions. Our warfare is not against the individual Chinamen, but

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against the deplorable conditions which their immigration and residence bring to us.

As well might we charge the people of the East with cruelty and inhumanity to the unfortunate passengers of plague-stricken ships, when, in protecting yourselves from the ravages of cholera, you enforce your quarantine laws.

PHILOSOPHY OF HENRY GEORGE.

We cannot permit the evils of slave competition to afflict our people while we await the emancipation of American labor. The process of emancipation is too slow. The people are yet too greatly divided in opinion concerning the best method of emancipation. They have not yet sufficiently learned that labor never can be free except where land is free.

Knowledge must ever precede right credence, and right credence must ever precede correct political action.

The people are reading and studying the philosophy of Henry George. "Progress and Poverty," which a distinguished English writer has happily denominated "a glorious gospel of justice," is steadily and rapidly changing the credence of the world on the subject of land tenure.

It is the herald of the next great step in the order of social evolution.

It is a practical development of the principles of Jeffersonian Democracy. It is a justification of our Declaration of Independence. It is a vindication of the "ways of God to man."

The manifest truths of its philosophy will speedily unify the world's credence. "Never yet share of truth was vainly set in the world's wide fallow."

The education of a nation on an economic question is not to be accomplished in a day, though the "stars in their courses" should work with the educators.

In the meantime self-defense becomes more than a right; it becomes a most sacred duty.

NATURAL RIGHTS OF CHINESE.

You ask if I do not recognize the Chinaman in this scheme of creative benevolence? I answer, "Yes." I recognize most fully the natural rights of the Chinese. I do not question their equal rights to the elements which the Creator has given

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for the sustenance of human life; but I recognize the fact that the same Creator has established the family, and by his law of human gregariousness, has established the community and has decreed that through the family and the community civilization shall be evolved and defended.

He has the same right to an independent home that I have, but he has no right to invade my home, nor I his; and, as I have but followed the Creator's law of evolution in building up the institutions which constitute my civilization, I have a right to defend them, as well against the unarmed invader from China as against the armed soldier from Great Britain.

In connection with the industrial phase of this question, Mr. Speaker, I desire to present several petitions from various trades unions of California, praying for the enforcement of the Geary Act.

I also desire to read, as presenting labor's view of this question, the following extracts from the petition of the Bricklayers' Union, which I will file here, and which has been indorsed by resolution in every union belonging to the Building Trades Council of San Francisco.

The extracts to which I desire to call special attention are as follows:

"The importation of Chinese Coolie labor into the State of California, and sister States of this Union, and the simultaneous closing of natural opportunities against our own people have during the past twenty-five years, been gradually but steadily reducing American Labor to a condition of slavery. * * * *

The oppression of monopoly on the one hand and the competition of Chinese slave labor on the other, threaten to speedily degrade our American laborers below the standard of family life, by reducing wages to the bare cost of maintaining unmarried coolies.

I commend this vivid but not overdrawn picture of the ordeal of American labor to the Eastern sentimentalists who profess such an undying devotion to the abstract rights of man. I commend it also to the ministers of religion who are deploring the decadence of church influence among the laboring classes, while as representatives of religion they are promoting the humiliation and degradation of labor by their advocacy of Chinese immigration.

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[Mr. Maguire here gave way to a motion to adjourn, reserving the right to conclude his remarks to-morrow.]

October 14.

Mr. MAGUIRE (resuming). Mr. Speaker, when the House adjourned last evening I was discussing the industrial features of Chinese immigration and residence on the Pacific coast. I endeavored to show that in California certain social forces, supplemented by the competition of Chinese coolies, had reduced the wages of labor to a point that bears no relation whatever to the value of labor, but is regulated solely by the standard of living of the lowest class of labor in the country; and that, as slavery is the lowest form of labor competing there, our laborers are being reduced to its standard of living.

THE VALUE OF LABOR.

The gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. BAKER] asked my colleague [Mr. GEARY] if the Chinese did not give full value in labor for the $300,000,000 which as surplus earnings they have carried from the Pacific coast to China during the last twenty-five years.

I answer yes. They gave much more than value for it to the people who were in a position to take advantage of the cheapness of their labor, but they compelled the laborers of our own race to surrender an equal proportion of the value of their earnings to the same monopolists.

Let me say further to the gentleman, that, before the coming of the Chinese, American laborers received more than double the wages now prevailing in California, and they gave full value in labor for every dollar that they received in wages then. The wealth-producing power of labor has since that time increased many fold. Yet, in spite of the increased wealth production, their wages have fallen 50 per cent. Will gentlemen, professing a desire for justice of labor, applaud that result?

When the lands of California were free and the American laborers there had the option to leave the labor market when its conditions were unsatisfactory, and go out upon the land and establish independent industries and means of subsistence for themselves, no competition of servile labor could injuriously affect them, but would tend perhaps to drive them to

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higher pursuits, and to callings better suited to their intelligence and capacity than the kind of labor for which they are now obliged to compete with the Chinese.

But we have no such conditions existing there now. American labor is not free there. It has no alternative there, any more than it has here, to leave the labor market when the conditions become unsatisfactory. It must find its employment in the labor market; and with the constant presence of a large body of unemployed laborers in that market, the tendency of the law of supply and demand—the supply exceeding the demand—is to reduce wages, regardless of the value of labor, to the lowest standard of living which will be adopted by the most hardly pressed class of laborers looking for employment. With thousands of surplus laborers of our own race in the labor markets of California wages would, in any case, be reduced to the lowest standard according to which Caucasian laborers would consent to live; but, with that great army of unemployed Caucasian laboreres supplemented by nearly a hundred thousand Chinese, whose standard of living is so low that no American laborer can submit to it and live, you can imagine the condition to which Chinese immigration has brought our laboring people.

While asserting the natural rights of the Chinese and defending the position which he held on the Exclusion Act in 1893, Judge Maguire uses the following language:

"He,—the Chinaman,—has the same right to an independent home that I have, but he has no right to invade my home. nor I his; and as I have but followed the Creator's law of evolution in building the institutions which constitute my civilization, I have a right to defend them, as well against the unarmed invader from China as against the armed soldier from Great Britain.

The Judge is a learned lawyer. If he had a case in court in which he opposed my interests I should certainly engage able and experienced counsel for my defense. But this is a case in which every citizen is called upon to defend himself and to give a reason for the faith that is in him. It is not a case wherein the musty precedents of forgotten law can be cited to obstruct the forward movement of men in the living present. This is a case in which every "legal fiction" that

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can be introduced must be pleaded in favor of human liberty. Therefore, in estimating the strength or cogency of the Judge's argument, the narrow rules of legal logic prove quite inadequate,—we must apply those higher laws of natural justice whose every proposition favors the greatest margin of human freedom.

The Judge says, further: "I do not question their equal right,—that of the Chinese,—to the sustenance of human life but I recognize the fact that the same Creator has established the family, and by his law of human gregariousness has decreed that through the family and the community civilization shall be evolved and defended."

This is, certainly, a clear and complete sentence, explicit and unmistakable. Taken in connection with the sentence wherein the Judge defends his "home" from invasion, it will not only bear, but certainly demands, the most careful consideration. If the Chinese have equal rights to the natural bounties of the Great Creator, what moral right has the Judge to bar them from seeking their elements of sustenance in California as long as they leave enough of those necessary elements of life for the sustenance of the Judge and his family? And the Judge admits, and emphasizes his admission, that "our natural resources are, indeed, measureless and inexhaustible."

The Judge claims that the "Creator has established the family?" But we must ask: "What family?" Was it the Aryan, the Mongolian or African? Or, to become more explicit still,—was it the Hebrew, the Christian or the Mohammedan family?

All these families are certainly now on the earth and I think the Judge must admit that history is silent as to which of these several branches of the human family the Creator specifically established. Therefore, if history is thus silent as to the origin of the whole human family it is, certainly, not in order for any man to claim any specific favor from the Creator in relation to the rights of his own particular family.

Further: if the exhaustive investigations into the origin of human institutions have any claim to command our respect or any right to influence our opinions and actions in this vital matter, they drive us to the conclusion that the Chinese family, as we know it to-day, when compared with what the Courts

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have decided to be the status of the family in the United States, has at least the equal sanction of the Creator. That is, if we are to judge of the Creator's sanction or approval of any family by the permanence and continuity of the institutions of that family, what must we conclude of that nation or people, or family, if you prefer, which has maintained its national existence for at least four thousand years, more than five times as long as Greece or Rome and more than double the duration of the empires of Assyria, Babylonia, or even Egypt, as accredited by any continuous or authentic history? With all their boasted "civilization," their national vitality exhausted itself in a few centuries, while those of China have swung serenely on through all the ages not only unmoved by, but actually ignorant of, the rise or fall of the scores of mushroom nations of "outside barbarians" as the lofty pride of the dignified "Celestials" habitually dubbed them.

Here was a nation, or a world family, whose great moral teacher, Confucius, lived and taught more than five hundred years before Christ. And it was this great teacher who gave humanity the Golden Rule, almost word for word, long before the Founder of Christianity promulgated it among the Jews.

To this same nation all the later world owes the Mariners' Compass,—Gunpowder and some say the Breech-Loading-Cannon,—the actual calculation and prediction of Lunar Eclipses and that most wonderful and important invention of all time, the Art of Printing. And these by no means exhaust the list of their benefits to the whole human race.

Thus it is reasonable to concede that the nation, or family, which has lasted longest, taught the highest morality, and given the human race some of the most beneficial inventions or discoveries, must be favored by the Creator of the universe. The Judge has introduced no evidence to prove that, at any period of the world's history, the Creator has shown any preference for any distinct or definite people or kind of civilization. And this is simply what we should anticipate from a Creator who,—as Holy Writ distinctly assures us,—is "no respecter of persons." Yet, if human history has plainly and unmistakably taught any one lesson above all others, along this line, it is that the Creator has specially favored the Chi-

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nese family of man and, therefore, that He cannot be antagonistic to Chinese Civilization.

The Judge says: "He,—the Chinaman,—has no right to invade my home." In this instance, and all through his argument the Judge means, of course, to use "home" in the wider sense of "country," a front and back yard extending from the swamps of sultry Sulu to the frozen confines of Alaska, thence stretching across the Western Continent to the pleasant vales of the Passamaquoddy. This is, indeed, a very wide area to be covered by the term "home." The Judge does not deny, the legal right of every American citizen,—including the citizens of Chinese parentage,—to equal access to, and equal rights in, his "home" from which he would exclude the Chinese laborer, without the ballot, no matter how intelligent, or how skilled, that laborer might be. The Judge must also concede that he occupies this large American "home" in common,—or in joint ownership, if he prefers, with all who can lawfully claim American citizenship.

As a joint, or common, owner in this "home" of Judge Maguire, *et al*, I claim the right to cultivate my individual portion of the common kitchen garden in accordance with my own notions of agriculture. And, as a part of the soil in my garden is especially adapted to the growth of Rice, I desire to engage the services of a skilled Asiatic agriculturalist, an expert in that line to help me in this attempt. My share of the products of the garden of this conglomerate "home" is ample for the purpose of compensating this Asiatic as, in a free market, he consents to exchange service—or its equivalent—with me in the ratio of 4 to 5.

The progress of civilization depends upon our freedom to employ others to assist us in the production of wealth. But the Judge has no sympathy with me, or toleration for me, in my efforts to cultivate my share of my nation's "home" by employing any toiler that I may find suited to my purpose, if the worker happens to be a Chinaman. The Judge violates my personal liberty when he hinders me from engaging a worker suited to my purpose. And compels me to employ a laborer whose chief distinction is that he is a voter—actual or potential. And there comes in another hindrance or limitation to my liberty: this laborer belongs to a "Union." This union protects and backs him up in charging me "all that the

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traffic will bear." In this case the "traffic can *not* bear the expense of securing his service. These two things combine to hinder and prevent me from engaging in just that one special industry for which my soil is best suited.

This is the "home" on which the Judge bases his argument for exclusion. I, who claim equal rights with the Judge, have no real liberty; my initiative and individuality are curtailed. The Judge's doctrine of the inviolability of his "home" places me at the mercy of certain "privileged classes," whose chief virtues consist in having a white skin, and in their capacity to vote, or to become voters.

According to Judge Maguire's logic, if one race can be kept out of a country, on the ground that the "home" is endangered by their presence, then any race may be shut out for the same reason. I find no statistics in the judge's speech to justify the people of the United States in holding exclusive possession of the immense territory which they now claim, or that there is even a remote danger of the people aforesaid outrunning the limits of subsistence.

He gives no facts to show that the people of the United States are in reasonable need of the "measureless and inexhaustible resources" which he would allow them to hold under the legal fiction involved in the term "home". And that is the actual and incontrovertible *fact* which upsets and vitiates the Judge's argument. There is no need for this "dog in the manger" policy. A country whose resources are "measureless and inexhaustible" cannot suffer materially by the presence of a few thousand Chinese whose chief work in the community is to increase the products extracted from nature—for which they do not receive equitable compensation. If the Judge's argument is sound it could have been used with equal force by the American Indians when the Pilgrim Fathers invaded their "home" in 1620. And the Pilgrims, by the same argument, would have been justified in keeping the Judge's immediate ancestors out of this glorious country of "measureless and inexhaustible resources."

I will again ask the reader to remember that in my comments on Judge Maguire's speech, wherever I have used the term "home", I used it as synonymous with the term "country." And I think now, that without further examination the fair-minded reader who has carefully followed

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my comments on the Judge's speech must concede that in the last analysis his argument, either directly or by inference, rests upon force, as do nearly all arguments made to justify the exclusion of people from their natural rights.

Mr. Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labor, put the principle very tersely in his last annual address, when he said: "It may be safely asserted that, as a rule, in our time, those who have no power to insist upon and maintain their rights, have no rights to maintain."

If the statistics of the death rate among both the white and negro children of this country are correct—and their correctness seems beyond dispute—we will, at a no very remote period, need all the children of "far Cathay" who may come to our shores, to remain and "be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it."

From present indications, the population of this country—other than Asiatic—will never increase in sufficient numbers to subdue this immense continental territory.

Henry George has plainly shown that the bugbear of overpopulation is removed to the remote future. And we are not justified in providing for a contingency that may never occur. Modern civilization depends upon the free migration of the races of the earth. An expansive population is a condition precedent to the establishment and maintenance of diversified industries.

This continent contains areas of fertile soil amply sufficient for the comfortable support of at least a round billion of well-fed, prosperous inhabitants. Nor do we limit it, even in thought, to the whites, or blacks, or reds. We include all the colors and all the kinds that the beneficent Creator has placed upon this planet to "occupy, posesss, cultivate and enjoy it." Let them come from all the nations of the earth:

"From Greenland's icy mountains,
From India's coral strand,—
Where Afric's sunny fountains
Roll down their golden sand."

The Creator commanded the human family to "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it." And that command is still in force and must remain so till the whole earth is subdued and replenished.

In this argument the Indian has been introduced as an

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illustration. He is a member of the human family, who was free and easy with his home, and when the white people on American soil wanted to use and monopolize the land which he used in the chase, they had no scruples in despoiling the Red man of the territorial gifts which his Creator bestowed upon him. In strict ethics, the right of the Indian was as sacred as the rights of any other human being. But the Indian lacked the power to defend his home aaginst the continuous assault of the Caucasian robber. And so the ethical standard of the White man is not disturbed when he steals from and destroys those who cannot defend themselves.

The Supreme Court of California fifty years ago decided that as far as the testimony of a Chinaman against a white man was concerned, the Chinaman was on a level with the son of the forest, and the evidence of neither could deprive the white man of his liberty, nor contribute to his punishment in any form.

The Chinese—in China—were suspected of being unable to defend their homes according to the methods of modern warfare, and the warships of the Christian nations hovered around their coast, like wolves around the carcass of a dead lion.

Since the affair between Japan and Russia, there seems to be a distinct change of opinion in regard to the desirability of attempting to take their home from the Chinese by force. Yet the suspicion of their national weakness that has gone abroad in the past has militated against their obtaining their individual rights in this country. Our government granted the ballot to the lowest scum of Europe, and withheld it from the natives of China. Hence the Chinese have been unable to hold their own in this country. We have refused them the weapon which we grant to every other immigrant. And then, because we have made and keep them politically and legally helpless, we abuse them. This is the only way to put it. We abuse them because we *can* do so with impunity. At least, it has been so. Possibly the Chinese begin to recognize that since the marvelous military successes of their kinsmen (the Japanese) they may be able to do something in that line themselves, and thus regain our respect.

The recent war between Japan and Russia must have taught the Chinese one great lesson,—namely, that the quality the

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Christian nations respect the most in one another is their capacity to destroy human life at wholesale. The reader will pardon this digression.

Let us return to the supposed results of Chinese cheap labor—the poverty of the California toiler.

No man in all free America knows better than Judge Maguire that no just judgment can ascribe the poverty of the people to the presence of the Chinese in our country. In his work on "Poverty," published this year, Mr. Robert Hunter, a most conservative writer, states that "there are probably in this country, in fairly prosperous years, no less than ten millions of persons in actual poverty,—that is to say, poorly housed, poorly clad and underfed. Of these four millions are public paupers." Now, don't forget, please, that these figures apply to a country whose natural resources are, indeed, "measureless and inexhaustible," and where the men who go hungry and are underfed have the ballot. *And they are not Chinamen, either.*

And our country is not exceptional in the poverty of its toilers. Nor does such a condition exist because of the heterogeneous nature of its population. To prove this let me quote the statistics of the conditions of the toiler in another so-called Anglo-Saxon country in which many of the workers have the ballot, but do not use it to their own advantage. The following comes from a dispatch to the San Francisco *Examiner* of October 6th, 1904:

LONDON, October 5, 1904.—"Joseph Chamberlain opened his fiscal campaign at Luton, Bedfordshire, England, and among other things, said the following: 'There were now fewer laborers by a million than there were in 1851, and 13,000,000 are underfed.'" These are the conditions that obtain in the most advanced countries in the world—in Anglo-Saxon countries, if you please. This, too, with the doctrines of Henry George before them for the past quarter of a century. So it is manifest folly to attempt to hinder or delay the inevitable working of economic law till we judge that people have become able and willing to formulate statutes based upon equity.

Hear what the historian Robertson says upon this matter: "To abandon usurped power, to renounce lucrative error, are sacrifices which the virtue of individuals has, on some occa-

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sions, offered to truth, but from no society of men can such an effort be expected. The corruptions of society recommended by universal practice are viewed by its members without shame or horror, and reformation never proceeds from themselves, but is always forced upon them by some foreign hand."

If we postpone equitable legislation until those who would most benefit by it demand it, it will be a very long time in coming. While people are taught and believe that they have some privileges which they enjoy at the expense of another class, they are slow to move for reform. And, as Robertson says: "Reformation never proceeds from themselves, but is always forced upon them by some foreign hand."

In the case we are considering this "foreign hand" is the absolute necessity of retaining the Chinese market for the disposal of surplus American products, and the equally imperative necessity of giving China some reasonable degree of reciprocal advantages in this country for the privileges she grants to us.

The legislation which will bring about the above conditions we must supplement by statutes setting free our own "measureless and inexhaustible" natural resources. And for this purpose I am more than glad to advocate the measure proposed by Judge Maguire.

When we remove the fences surrounding our own "inexhaustible resources" no one will object to a reasonable immigration of select laborers from China or any other country. The reason is not far to seek. When our own people have free access to the natural wealth of their own country, without compulsory payment to some individual for the privilege, the laborer himself will receive the first benefit of the change. And the change will be this: the worker, now pressed to the wall by a greedy employer, will have the opportunity of going directly to the source of wealth for himself, thereby becoming his own employer. He may never take advantage of this opportunity,—it may be best for all concerned that he should not do so,—but set the resources free and he has the alternative. He has no alternative now. In that one word, alternative, and all that it implies, lies his freedom. Even now, with all the hampered conditions that obtain, there are far more people in California who are injured by the exclusion of

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the Chinese than there are people whom his exclusion would benefit.

The people of this coast who would receive the benefit are those who are neither rich nor poor, but who have sufficient enterprise and intelligence to use skilled labor to aid them in starting industries wherein such intelligence and labor become more powerful factors than mere capital. All over the western country one may find thousands of such people. But they are not organized into trade unions and from the very nature of things they cannot be. They have no walking delegates to sound their praises or to acquire special privileges for them.

My contention is that, as the Chinese in California have never received the ballot, they have never hindered the white toiler from making any law necessary to secure for himself man's natural heritage, free and equal access to the land. The white toiler in California is always an actual or a possible voter. And I further contend that there is neither justice nor equity in keeping the Chinese laborer out of this country, to which he has the natural right of access, until such time as the majority of the white laborers in California know their legal rights and have both the intelligence to demand them and the courage to maintain them.

In the older states of our country the same industrial problems demand solution. They have no Chinese competition worthy the name. The land,—the source of all wealth,—is monopolized just as here. Yet we know of no movement by the people of any eastern or southern state to rid themselves of the deadly incubus of land monopoly. Nor does there seem any present reason to hope that the white toilers of those states who have the ballot but have not the sense to use it, even contemplate such a movement. They annually celebrate the Declaration of Independence made in the Eighteenth Century, but have neither the sense nor the courage to make a greater one for themselves in these opening years of the Twentieth Century. But the negative features of apathy or indifference are by no means the worst facts in the case. One of the largest organized bodies of laborers in the world,—the American Federation of Labor,—persistently refuses even to discuss such problems.

It is now twelve years since Judge Maguire delivered his

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famous speech in Congress in favor of the Exclusion Law. Yet not a single labor organization in California—with the exception of the Bricklayers' Union, quoted by Judge Maguire— has taken up the advocacy and the promotion of the principles which the Honorable Judge then so forcibly announced! How long, Judge, shall we have to wait for your American laborer, now sleeping on his rights, to wake to the acquisition and enjoyment of the benefits of free exchange of services with Chinese other than those claiming to be merchants, etc.?

With these few desultory paragraphs I finish my comments on the state and national legislative persecution of the Chinese people in this country.

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"If thou seest the oppression of the poor, violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter: for he that is higher than the highest regardeth; and there be higher than they."
—Eccl. 5:8.

"The superior man is catholic and no partisan. The mean man is a partisan and not catholic."—Confucius.

SOME RECENT EXCLUSION DECISIONS.

As the Dred-Scott decision fixed the legal *status* of the negro in this country and accclerated the pace at which we were then marching toward a civil war, so the case of the United States *vs.* Ju Toy has fixed the *status* of the native American citizen of Chinese descent, and thus bids fair to become historic. We do not expect that the results flowing from this decision will precipitate a war between this country and China, although it is safe to say that we would hesitate long before committing such an outrage upon a citizen of a nation whose army and navy commanded our respect; and with whom we had treaty relations.

In summoning the authorities and precedents, Mr. Justice Holmes, who wrote the decision in the case, seemed to cite every precedent that made for the curtailment of human liberty, allowing the sufferer by the decision, who claimed to be a native American, know no means of redress. This is the very serious result which flows from our hasty and cruel legislation in regard to the Chinese. The decision of the majority of the court has attracted widespread attention, and has been ably commented upon, so that it would be a work of supererogation on my part to attempt to review it. For the purpose of making this statement of use to the reader who has not read anything about the Ju Toy decision, I will reprint a short review of it by the Honorable John W. Foster, L.L.D., than whom there is within the limits of our country no publicist more capable of the task. Dr. Foster's article was printed in the New York *Independent* on June 3rd, 1905, and reads as follows:

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A DECISION OF MOST PROFOUND IMPORTANCE—BY JOHN W. FOSTER, L.L.D., EX-SECRETARY OF STATE.

The above title is the characterization by Mr. Justice Brewer of a decision recently rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States in a Chinese case. It adds another to the long list of acts of an unfriendly class inflicted upon the Chinese people which have reflected so unfavorably upon our nation.

The case, briefly stated, is that of a native-born citizen of the United States who, having made a visit to China, the country of his parents, on reaching San Francisco was held by the Immigration officials to be a Chinaman and was refused admittance into the United States. Under a writ of *habeas corpus* he was brought before the United States District Judge of San Francisco, who upon hearing evidence declared that, having been born in this country, he was a citizen of the United States and as such entitled to admission. The case was appealed by the Federal authorities through the Circuit Court of Appeals to the Supreme Court. The latter court has just held that, in view of the act of Congress of August 18th, 1894, which provided that the decision of the proper immigration officer excluding an alien from admission is final, there can be no adjudication of the question of citizenship by the courts and that relief cannot be had through the writ of *habeas corpus*.

If this is to stand as the law in the United States, punishment by banishment may be inflicted upon a citizen of the United States in violation of what have heretofore been held to be inestimable guaranties of the Constitution. Article III, section 2, provided that "the trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury"; and by the Fifth Amendment no person can "be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law", and, further, "no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on presentment or indictment of a a grand jury." The highest court of our country has decided that the due process of law is granted by the hearing before the immigration official; that trial by jury may be in the same way superseded; that a citizen may suffer the infamous punishment of perpetual banishment from the land of his birth by the same procedure, and that the writ of *habeas corpus*, so

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dearly prized as "the remedy which the law gives for the enforcement of the civil right of personal liberty", is ineffective against the decision of an obscure immigration officer.

Let us see what is this "due process of law". The immigration officer who controls the Constitutional guaranties above cited is rarely if ever possessed of any legal education and is chosen rather because of his fitness as a police officer or detective. Under the authority of the laws passed by Congress for the exclusion of Chinese laborers a series of rules have been adopted by the Immigration Bureau. These rules provide that when a Chinese person arrives at a port or on the frontier of the United States the immigration officer shall prevent the Chinese person from having communication with any one but the officer; that the officer shall examine him in private touching his right of admission, without any opportunity to secure assistance of an atttorney or friend, and that only such witnesses shall be heard as the examining officer shall designate, and they examined in private. In this way the right of the Chinese applicant is advised of his right to appeal to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, when he can employ counsel, who is permitted upon filing notice of appeal, to examine, but not to copy, the *ex parte* evidence taken by the immigration officer. Notice of appeal must be filed within two days, and within three days a record of the case, including new affidavits (for there is no open or public hearing), must be forwarded to Washington. The burden of proof is placed on the Chinese person, and in every doubtful case the benefit of the doubt is given to the Government. No provision is made for summoning witnesses from a distance (for instance, from the state in which the applicant was born) or taking depositions.

Well might Mr. Justice Brewer ask: "If this be not a star chamber proceeding of the most stringent sort, what more is necessary to make it one? I do not see how any one can read these rules and hold that they constitute due process of law for the arrest and deportation of a citizen of the United States."

And this in a case where applicant had been judicially determined to be an American citizen. Under such circumstances the Justice quoted and the two colleagues who unite

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with him in dissent (Justices Peckham and Day) are justified in the declaration: "Such a decision is appalling."

I give the concluding paragraph of the dissenting opinion:

"The statutes of the United States expressly limit the finality of the determination of the immigration officers to the case of aliens. It has been conceded by the Government that those statutes do not apply to citizens, and this court made a most important decision based upon that concession. The rules of the department declare that the statutes do not apply to citizens, and yet in the face of all this we are told that they may be enforced against citizens, and that Congress so intended. Banishment of a citizen not merely removes him from the limits of his native land, but puts him beyond reach of any of the protecting clauses of the Constitution. In other words, it strips him of the rights which are given to a citizen. I cannot believe that Congress intended to provide that a citizen, simply because he belongs to an obnoxious race, can be deprived of all the liberty and protection which the Constitution guarantees, and if it did so intend, I do not believe that it has the power to do so."

The act of Congress which has brought about this "appalling decision" was inserted as an amendment to the Sundry Civil appropriation bill of 1894, and illustrates the evil effects of such a method of procuring legislation. It was prepared at the Immigration Bureau, "smuggled" into the appropriation bill, where it had no legitimate place, and went through Congress without its real character being detected. As Justice Brewer remarks, doubtless Congress did not intend by its enactment to make it apply to citizens or to deprive them of their constitutional guaranties.

It is not my purpose to arraign the majority of the Supreme Court. If I attempted it I could not use stronger language than that uttered by one of its own members. Possibly the court believed with President Grant that the best way to secure the repeal of a bad law was to enforce it vigorously. Such ought to be the result of the recent decision. When it is so plainly made to appear that under the act of 1894, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, an immigration officer may by a star chamber proceeding exclude a native-born citizen from his own country, Congress ought not to hesitate

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to repeal the law or so modify it as to remove this objectionable power.

This occurrence emphasizes the necessity of cultivating among our people, and especially our rulers and law-makers, a higher standard of justice in the treatment of the Chinese race. Our Secretary of State has justly won the commendation of his countrymen for his efforts to preserve the independence and integrity of that great empire so that our trade with it shall be free and unrestricted. Our churches are contributing many millions of dollars to carry thither our religion and our civilization. But Congress, under the whip and spur of a small section of our population, enacts legislation which affronts and maltreats that cultivated and populous nationality and in great measure undoes the enlightened work of our Government and the churches.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

After reading the foregoing review of the Ju Toy decision, its wide and far-reaching scope will be seen and appreciated. There is, however, a paragraph in the body of the opinion of Mr. Justice Holmes which strikes me as of sufficient importance to be printed here, with a few words about its possible consequences when used by parties in power who would for any unworthy reason deny the citizen his liberty by proceedings that are now recognized as equivalent to trial by due process of law.

I use the word citizen in its largest sense. Not a citizen of Chinese origin merely, but an American citizen of any racial origin. Here is the paragraph in question: Mr. Justice Holmes, after citing the law in the case of Ross *vs.* Ross, 140 United States, says:

"The petitioner, although physically within our boundaries is to be regarded as if he had been stopped at the limit of our jurisdiction and kept there while his right to enter was under debate."

I suppose that this sentence looks perfectly harmless to those who are learned in the law; but for some reason, which I cannot explain, the reading of it revives in me memories of all the abuses that I have read of as having been perpetrated in France under the authority of "Lettres de Cachet".

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Here are some of the opinions of the press on the effects of the Ju Toy decision:

The Philadelphia *Record* speaks of the decisions as follows:

"The decision is revolutionary in that it has practically nullified the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments and clears the way for the destruction by a legislative enactment of one of the most valued provisions of the Bill of Rights."

The Newbedford *Standard* says: "If this principle now announced by the Supreme Court holds good, what is there to save almost any American returning to his home from a foreign land from being held up and refused admission at the whim of an immigration official?"

"The court in this case," according to the New York *Tribune*, "proclaims that foreigners of all sorts can now be dismissed summarily."

The Boston *Traveler* says: "The Ju Toy decision will probably result in the next Congress passing a law to correct this matter."

While the decision in the Ju Toy case may be awarded the prize for concentrating the greatest amount of law, both statutary and juridicial, in which human rights are abridged and denied, there are other decisions from the same tribunal of nearly equal malignity. We can almost take them at random from the reports. Here is a gem from the case of the United States *vs.* Ah Fawn, 57 Federal report. It was decided in that case, that as the words Chinese laborers include all other persons than those coming for the purpose of teaching, trades, study and curiosity, the term laborer includes gamblers and all belonging to the criminal class known as "highbinders."

So to please the American Federation of Labor, an organization that was founded to obtain justice for the toiler, the laws are made so that the courts must decide that the laborer, if he be a Chinaman, is placed in the same category as the gambler and the "highbinder." And by parity of reasoning the court in refusing entrance to a Chinese woman applying for admission to this country as a member of the exempt class would not outrage legal ethics in deciding that she was a prostitute. In fact it was decided in the opinion of Solicitor of Treasury, February 7th, 1896, that "The wife partakes of her husband's status as a laborer, and as such is debarred

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admission by law." This language places her on a level with the gambler and the highbinder. A female gambler and highbinder does not have far to fall to become a prostitute. The same opinion decided that Chinese laborers who go out of the country under the provisions of the recent treaty with China, promulgated December 8th, 1894, cannot be permitted upon returning to bring their wives with them. And still we preach of Chinese immorality. The old "statute of laborers" with all its feudal contempt for the rights of the toiler was liberal in comparison with the decisions of our highest courts on the rights of the laborer when he happens to be of Chinese birth and without the ballot. Is it not a strange anomaly that the American laborer should accept the assertion that capital is of more importance than labor in the developement of a country. The acceptance of such a conclusion is the direct confession of inferiority on the part of the laborer. And if the laborer voluntarily places himself in such a position what can he expect? from those who assume to constitute a class other than laborers, but contempt and contumely?

As a laborer I utterly loathe, despise and repudiate such a classification. The American laborer has no adequate conception of his importance as a member of society. He practically concedes that capital is the most important factor in the production of wealth. This is a lie. And there is no man more interested in branding it a lie than the laborer. Hear what a writer, who was himself a laborer, says on the subject: 'Capital does not advance wages or subsist laborers; but its functions are to assist labor in production, with tools, seed, etc., and with the wealth required to carry on exchanges."

That is the doctrine that has the ring of truth in it. The only doctrine compatible with the facts of the case and with the self-respect of the worker. Stand up fellow workman, stand up for your rights. Ask no less and take no more. But remember that every worker on this earth's surface has the same right to employment and the same right to compensation that you have.

Here is another golden truth from the brain of the same worker, who toiled at the printers' case and knew all the disabilities of the laborer: "Each laborer in performing the labor really creates a fund from which his wages are drawn.

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Then wages cannot be diminished by the increase of laborers, but, on the contrary, as the efficiency of labor manifestly increases with the number of laborers, the more laborers, other things being equal, the higher should wages be."

This is fitting close to my comment on the case of Ah Fawn, wherein he was classed with the gambler and the highbinder.

Another decision on the status of the laborer is embodied in the following language: "Laborers, whenever used in this act (May 6th, 1882; July 5th, 1884), shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled laborers, and Chinese employed in mining."

The legitimate inference to be drawn from this decision is that we are so far advanced in the arts, and all manner of handicraft, in the carving of ivory, in the manufacture of silks, and all other beautiful things, that the Chinese artisan can teach us nothing.

An old English chronicle states that in 1336: "Two Brabant weavers settled at York, England, which says, Edward III, may prove of great benefit to us and our subjects."

If two skilled Chinese weavers were to attempt to land in this country for the purpose of exchanging the product of their looms with us they would be refused admission, and if by chance they smuggled their way in and were adjudged by some incompetent official to have fraudulent certificates they would be liable to a fine of $1000 and imprisonment in a penitentiary for a term of not more than five years.

And this is all done to protect weavers already in the United States, many of them of Czolgosez's race and moral tendency. Again a skilled Chinese miner is barred from landing on our shores upon the presumption that we know all about mining and the reduction of ores and that the Chinese, who have had a thousand years' experience in the manipulation of minerals, can teach us nothing in that line. Then, the exclusion law debars us from utilizing the service of the Chinese potter, in fashioning the useful and the beautiful vessels which his rare knowledge of color and glaze can give us. We send million of dollars annually out of our country for the product of the Asiatic potter's wheel, which, by a wise policy, could be kept at home. Perhaps this may be enough on the question of Chinese laborers. The Chinese Government is not asking in a particular way that they be admitted

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to this country. It only asks that Chinese laborers who are here be treated in the same manner as laborers who come here from any other country. Personally, as a citizen of this country, not removed from the necessity of labor, I affirm that our country needs the services of the laborer, skilled or unskilled, far more than it needs the service of any of the exempt class.

In fact, if there is favor to be shown to any class immigrating to this country, such favors should be shown to the clean, healthy, skilled and unskilled toiler, who seeks our shores, from any clime.

Henry George has proved to any reasonable person that the efficiency of labor manifestly increases with the number of laborers. The more laborers the higher wages should be, and that each laborer creates the fund from which his wages are drawn.

When the American Federation of Labor learns to apply this principle, the minor question of Chinese immigration will be easily settled.

"A Chinese merchant is a person engaged in buying and selling merchandise, at a fixed place of business, and who, during the time, claims to be engaged as a merchant and does not engage in the performance of any manual labor, except such as is necessary in the conduct of his business as such merchant."

The foregoing is the definition of the term merchant, according to the Exclusion Act.

"Commercial extension is in proportion to the prevalence of Christian intelligence and integrity." Thus spoke Dr. Scott, in this city, fifty years ago. The same speaker says that "foreign and domestic trade sustained by the employment and distribution of wealth in productive industry is as necessary to the healthful progress of nations as the circulation of the blood and the inhaling of fresh air is to the health of the body."

"Again," he says in his delightful little volume, "Trade and Letters," "commerce and agriculture are joined together by the Creator through the mechanic. Not a single vessel can go to sea without the aid of the stalwart tiller of the ground and the handicraft of the knight of tools."

It is hardly necessary to quote from any authority to justify

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the necessity of commerce. The merchant's is indeed a useful calling. He transfers the product of the producer to the consumer, and thus is a producer himself and a necessary factor in civilized life. The American laborer concedes that he is not injured by the entrance of any number of merchants of any race into our country. But the United States Government at the behest of the Trades Unions has curtailed the freedom of the Chinese merchant to such an extent that in his efforts to move freely wherever his interests demand his presence, he is subject to continual abuse and inconvenience. In a word, he is treated worse than a criminal. A murderer caught red-handed in the act, is allowed all the rights that come to him from a trial by a jury of his peers according to due process of law, which in the case of the murderer compels the Government to try him upon the legal presumption that he is innocent until he is proven guilty. How about our Chinese merchants in this country? When, for instance, he is charged with violation of the statute known as the Exclusion law, with the various amendments and the decision of the courts flowing therefrom, "the burden of lawful right to remain in the United States is upon the Chinese person or persons charged with being unlawfully in this country. And the fact that the Geary act so provides does not render it violative of the Federal Constitution." This is but a part of the modern "Statute of Merchants," which governs the admission of the exempt class into this country. And we wonder why the Chinese boycott American products. What may happen to a merchant of Chinese parentage who after a visit to the tomb of his ancestors seeks to re-enter the land of his birth, is shown by the extract from the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Brewer in the case of Ju Toy, which was decided at the October term of the Supreme Court in 1904.

Justice Brewer quotes the following rules governing the admission of all Chinese persons to our country:

"Immediately upon the arrival of Chinese persons * * * it shall be the duty of the officer * * * to adopt suitable means to prevent communication with them by any persons other than the officials under his control, to have said Chinese persons examined promptly, as by law provided, touching their right to admission, and to permit those proving such right to land." Rules 7, 8, 9, 10, and 21 are as follows:

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"Rule 7. The examination prescribed in Rule 6 should be separate and apart from the public, in the presence of government officials and such witness or witnesses only as the examining officer shall designate, and if, upon the conclusion thereof, the Chinese applicant for admission is adjudged to be inadmissible, he should be advised of his right of appeal, and his counsel should be permitted, after duly filing notice of appeal, to examine, but not make copies of, the evidence upon which the excluding decision is based.

"Rule 8. Every Chinese person refused admission under the provisions of the Exclusion laws by the decision of the officer in charge at the port of entry must, if he shall elect to take an appeal to the Secretary, give written notice thereof to said officer within two days after such decision is rendered.

"Rule 9. Notice of appeal provided for in Rule 8 shall act as a stay upon the disposal of the Chinese person whose case is thereby affected until a final decision is rendered by the Secretary; and, within three days after the filing of such notice, unless further delay is required to investigate and report upon new evidence, the complete record of the case, together with such briefs, affidavits, and statements as are to be considered in connection therewith, shall be forwarded to the Commissioner General of Immigration by the officer in charge at the port of arrival, accompanied by his views thereon in writing; but on such appeal no evidence will be considered that has not been made the subject of investigation and report by the said officer in charge.

"Rule 10. Additional time for the preparation of cases after the expiration of three days next succeeding the filing of notice of appeal will be allowed only in those instances in which, in the judgment of said officer in charge, a literal compliance with Rule 9 would occasion injustice to the appellant, or the risk of defeat of the purposes of the law; and the reasons for delay beyond the time prescribed shall, in every instance, be stated in writing in the papers forwarded to the Commissioner General of Immigration."

"Rule 21. The burden of proof in all cases rests upon Chinese persons claiming the right of admission to or residence within the United States to establish such right affirmatively and satisfactorily to the appropriate government officers, and in no case in which the law prescribes the nature of the evi-

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dence to establish such right shall other evidence be accepted in lieu thereof, and in every doubtful case the benefit of the doubt shall be given by administrative officers to the United States government."

After reading the rules to which all persons of Chinese origin or those who are suspected of such origin must submit, the fair-minded person must admit that the following condemnation of the law by Mr. Justice Brewer is mild and that his position is well taken. Justice Brewer says:

"It will be seen that under these rules it is the duty of the immigration officer to prevent communication with the Chinese seeking to land by any one except his own officers. He is to conduct a private examination, with only the witnesses present whom he may designate. His counsel, if, under the circumstances, the Chinaman has been able to procure one, is permitted to look at the testimony, but not to make a copy of it. He must give notice of appeal, if he wishes one, within two days, and within three days thereafter the record is to be sent to the Secretary at Washington; and every doubtful question is to be settled in favor of the government. No provision is made for summoning witnesses from a distance or for taking depositions, and, if, for instance, the person landing in San Francisco was born and brought up in Ohio, it may well be that he would be powerless to find any testimony in San Francisco to prove his citizenship. If he does not happen to have money he must go without the testimony, and when the papers are sent to Washington (3,000 miles away from the port, which, in this case, was the place of landing), he may not have the means of employing counsel to present his case to the Secretary. If this be not a star-chamber proceeding of the most stringent sort, what more is necessary to make it one?"

A little examination of the rules of admission as quoted from Justice Brewer's dissenting opinion is instructive and suggestive. As regards the examination, "it must be separate and apart from the public in the presence of Government officials and such witnesses only as the examining officer shall designate." In the examination the *modus operandi* is probably as follows: The applicant is stripped naked and made to submit to the Bertillon system of measurement. This is the French system used mostly in the identification of crim-

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inals. And no immigrant of any other country is compelled to submit to such an indignity. The body of the appellant is looked over for birth-marks, warts, protuberances or other nodulous excrescences. The feet are closely examined, the toes are spread apart and scrutinized. This is to determine if the applicant was in the habit of going barefooted in his native country. Going barefooted being presumptive evidence against the applicant belonging to the merchant class. In case of the female applicant, this examination shows if she has bandaged and crippled feet. Chinese ladies with cramped and bandaged feet are looked upon with favor by the inspectors. The fact shows that they must have been born in the useless class in their own country, and consequently are unable to compete in our labor market with the strenuous American girls of all origins.

The flesh on the shoulders of the applicant is examined for the muscular development that accompanies the severe exertion of basket carrying. Carbon impressions are taken and filed away with the photograps of the applicant. These photographs are taken according to a peculiar system. Any exceptional marks on the person or condition of the body are noted, and this evidence is placed in the archives of the department for the exclusive use of the government.

This examination is harsh and in many instances cruel, especially in the case of children. The Rev. F. L. H. Pott, President of St. John's College, Shanghai, says in speaking of the examination of children, that "Chinese lads of thirteen or fourteen years of age find the same difficulty in getting past the Customs officials as grown men." This is written in June of 1904. Mr. Potts, by the way, is married to a Chinese lady. And there seems to be no complaints made on the ground of non-assimilation in his case. In passing it may be well to observe that all this talk of the inability of the Asiatic to assimilate with the mixture known as the Anglo-Saxon comes from the lower classes. From all that we can learn, the examination and measurements which are prescribed even to the exempt classes of Chinese are harsh and humiliating. When we think of these absurd measurements being applied to delicate and refined Chinese ladies we are shocked and will allow the reader to exercise his imagination on the subject.

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The reader will notice all the time that the burden of proof rests upon the applicant for admission, with all the hardship that such a condition implies. It will be well to notice a few of the disabilities that the Chinese merchant is subject to even after he has been admitted to the sacred precincts of our free American republic. A merchant even after he has been admitted as such, may lose his *status*. In that respect the Chinese laborer has the advantage, as he can rise or fall to the *status* of gambler or highbinder without at all endangering his right to reside in the country.

A merchant cannot change his occupation to that of a restaurant proprietor without losing his *status* and right to remain with us. There seems to be no exception to this rule and it would make no difference if a Chinese merchant of San Francisco changed his business for the Palace Hotel restaurant, a concern probably worth $50,000,—he could not stay in this country as a restaurant proprietor. A Chinese merchant loses his *status* though he may keep a restaurant and a lodging house. "A Chinaman, the owner and operator of a laundry, who in addition was engaged in a limited sense in soliciting orders for Chinese curios, which he filled on commission, is nevertheless classed as a laundryman and laborer."

This was decided in 1892:

"The ownership by a Chinaman of two laundries does not exempt him from classification as a laborer, and does not entitle him to re-admission to the United States as a member of the exempt class." (Letter to Attorney General, September 9th, 1893.) This case suggests the query as to how many laundries a Chinaman must own to qualify him for admission to this country as a merchant or to remove him from the class of laborers, gamblers and highbinders.

In the matter of Chinese laundry owners, the following case is instructive: "A Chinaman who has conducted a laundry, but who has since sold his interests therein and who proposes to open a store for the sale of teas, etc., would not be regarded as a person of the exempt class should he visit China for the purpose of purchasing goods wherewith to start his contemplated store. He would not be permitted to re-enter the United States as a merchant. This was decided in 1892."

From the specimen rules which I have read it appears that

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the Chinese laundry business is not favored by the United States authorities having charge of the admission of Chinese. And in the last instance the unfortunate applicant could not exchange the money that he received from the sale of a laundry, even for a cargo of tea, with any hope of passing the guards. This looks like a case of tainted money. How long, oh, Lord, wilt thou suffer us to go on making fools of ourselves?

If a Chinese cigar merchant should be allowed to enter our domain and set up his business, and if his trade became somewhat dull, he would lose caste with our immigration officials if he stepped next door to his cousin, the shoemaker, and made a pair of shoes for him each day for three months. The law is explicit on the point. It says in effect, "Thou shalt not soil thy hands with toil outside of the business in which thou art immediately engaged under pain of expulsion from the limits of our jurisdiction."

A Chinaman even of the exempt class cannot enter our domain from the mere fact that he has a certificate from the proper Chinese authorities, and though said certificates be vised by a United States Consul at the port of embarkation. All this goes for naught. It is but *prima facie* evidence; and can be and is frequently set aside by the ministerial officer who may have been appointed to his position by political favoritism and who has no knowledge of judicial proceedings or the laws made for the protection of the individual.

In obedience to the clamor of the unwashed, the loud-mouthed and ignorant, we have placed laws on our statute books, and have made decisions defining and enforcing them which are a disgrace to a modern civilized community. These laws will make our posterity ashamed of us, and cause them to wonder and speculate as to the kind of hallucination with which we were afflicted.

For the purpose of showing the maladministration of justice growing out of the Chinese exclusion laws, it may be necessary to give some illustrations. The following item from the San Francisco *Examiner* of June 22, 1905, is about all that has appeared in print in relation to a dastardly outrage perpetrated upon Mr. Tom Kin Yung, a member of the Chinese legation in this country:

This is not the first time that serious charges have been

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made against Kramer in connection with the performance of his duty. In September of 1903, Tom Kin Yung, an attache of the Chinese legation in Washington and an officer of the imperial guard, was clubbed and beaten by Kramer and another policeman in front of the Chinese Consulate in this city. The case was brought to the attention of the Chinese Legation and an international question was raised concerning it. After Tom Kin Yung was taken to the city prison, Kramer placed a disgraceful charge against his name and the Chinese was so much aggrieved by the beating he had received and the nature of the charge placed against his name that he committed suicide a few days later.

Testimony taken in the matter by the Chinese Consulate was laid before Secretary of State John Hay. Mr. Hay transmitted it to Governor Pardee and he sent it on to Mayor Schmitz, who asked the Police Commission to investigate. That body heard the testimony of the two policemen and transmitted the result to Washington, but nothing further was done.

The police officer, J. T. Kramer, who was concerned in the above outrage, was removed by the Police Commissioners for conduct unbecoming an officer, and for the disgraceful part that he took in the arrest of two women. Remember that he was not removed from his position in 1903, for the clubbing and beating of Mr. Tom Kin Yung.

As the *Examiner* states, the Washington authorities were communicated with, but nothing further was done. Does any one believe that this outrage could have been perpetrated upon the person of any member of the diplomatic body of and other country with whom we have treaty relations?

The answer is self-evident. We abuse the citizens of China who are sojourning with us, because we feel that we can do so with impunity. What force is there in the sentiments of "Your good friend" John Tyler's letter, which was sent to the Ta Tsing Empire sixty-two years ago. This letter was a request for a treaty and more extended trade relations with China. Our request was granted. What have we given in return?

When the Chinese immigration laws were framed for this country Celestial aristocrats were not taken into consideration. hence it came about that four of the best educated, wealthiest

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and most refined persons residing within the Great Wall of the Flowery Kingdom were detained last night on the steamship Ivernia and, in spite of their social importance at home, were treated precisely as so many coolies.

One of the party was a woman, Miss T. King, who with her brothers, K. T. King, Z. D. King and S. D. King, have been in England three years, taking courses at Kings College. University of London. They were on their way home, and instead of going by way of the Portland and Ontario line decided to visit Boston, cross the continent and embark for China at San Francisco. They wish to-day that they had gone by the other route.

The uncle of these four students is Zu Shun Yuan, governor of the province of Shanghai, which is one of the most important posts in the Chinese empire.

The Boston immigration officials were in no way responsible for the humiliation which the four distinguished visitors were compelled to undergo last night. The trouble was partly due to the Chinese immigration law and partly to the visitors' failure to take advantage of such loopholes as the law permits.

Had they taken the trouble to secure a bond of $500 each and to furnish photographs to the immigration officials, they would have been allowed to land without detention, as a matter of course. As it was, they were compelled to submit to being photographed and to wait until such time as the bonds were executed. Consequently they spent the night on the Ivernia, instead of at a fashionable Back Bay hotel, as they had planned to do.

Miss King is described as a charming Chinese lady, petite and pretty. Last Tuesday, at a concert on the Ivernia, she played a solo on the Chinese flute and won great applause. All of the party speak English fluently. In England they were introduced to Embassador Choate, who gave them letters to friends in this country.

Passengers on the Ivernia spoke in the highest terms of their Chinese shipmates. "Their table manners were above reproach," said every one, "and their bearing toward everybody on the ship was admirable." K. T. King appeared to resent deeply the humiliations to which the laws of this country subjected himself and family.

He said:

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"In many cities of China the middle class of Chinamen are boycotting American goods, buying English or European products instead, because of the manner in which they are treated in this country," he said, "and the trade and commerce of this country in China is seriously affected as the result. The reason why students from our country go to England is because they are placed under such restrictions here. I can understand why legislation against coolies might be passed, but I do not see why respectable Chinamen are not welcomed."

The foregoing case was published in the Boston *Traveler*, June, 2, 1905, and it displays a similar flagrant abuse of authority. Here was a whole family of refined, educated, and wealthy people—showing all the evidences of wealth. They were held up by the stupid authorities, who presumed that the travelers might at some time during their stay here be compelled to compete with some of Mr. Gompers' clientele.

In this case the good people of Boston hastened to remedy the folly of the officials.

Enough space has been given to the sentiments of those who, as George says, "go on prating of the inalienable rights of man and then denying the inalienable right to the bounty of the Creator."

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TESTIMONY OF UNBIASED PARTIES.

We must now give some testimony from those who use Liberty to conjure with, not to vex the ear in empty boastings. For liberty means justice, and justice is the natural law—the law of health of symmetry and strength, of fraternity and cooperation. So to promote justice and the law of equal liberty among human beings we will introduce some testimony from a pamphlet, entitled "The other side of the Chinese question." This pamphlet was prepared by F. A. Bee and the matter was largely taken from the report of the Congressional Commitee, who were sent to this Coast to investigate the labor conditions here. The first witness I shall introduce will be Judge Heydenfeldt, a pioneer jurist of California, and the judge who had the doubtful honor of uniting with Judge Murray in declaring the law in the case of the People *vs.* Hall, in 1854.

SOLOMON HEYDENFELDT sworn and examined.

"By Mr. BEE: Question. How long have you resided in California?—Answer. Nearly twenty-seven years.

"Q. Were you at one time Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of this State?—A. Yes, sir.

"Q. How many years did you keep that position?—A. Five years.

"Q. You were conversant with the various institutions of California, mining manufacturing and farming?—A. Tolerably, sir; practically from observation, etc.

"Q. And with the Chinese question, and legislation in reference to it?—A. I have been an observer of what has been going on for the last twenty-seven years.

"Q. The committee are here to get information. I should like to have you detail your information as to the facts, if any, since the Chinese advent to California?—A. I think California owes its prosperity very much indeed to the industry of the Chinese who have come to this country. I think

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without them we would not have our harbor filled with ships; we would not have had railroads crossing our mountains, and we would have been behind, probably, a great number of years. I think we would not have had as many white people here if the Chinese had not come.

" Q. You think, then, that the Chinese who are among us have conduced to bring white people here and give white people homes and employment.—A. I do.

" Q. As to the construction of this new railroad, the Southern Pacific, which is some 400 miles in length, would that have been built but for the Chinese, in your opinion?—A. I think not; and I have been assured so by those who are interested in completing it.

" Q. It has opened a vast territroy of farming land to the immigration of this State?—A. It has.

" Q. Do you think that the benefits of the Chinese among us have been widespread?—A. I do.

" Q. How does the intellectual ability of the Chinaman, so far as your observation enables you to judge, compare with that of Americans in the same corresponding class?—A. I think their general intelligence is greater. My impression is, from my information and observation, that there are very few Chinamen of the ordinary laboring class who cannot read and write their own language. In my intercourse with them I find them always quick to understand and very quick to appreciate. They exhibit also a ready intelligence, much more so than you will generally find among the ordinary laboring class of whites.

CORNELIUS B. S. GIBBS, sworn and examined.

" By Mr. BEE: Question. How long have you been a resident of this State?—A. Over twenty-eight years.

" Q. What is your profession?—A. An adjuster of marine losses.

" Q. Does your profession bring you in contact with the Chinese merchants of this city and State?—A. Yes, sir.

" Q. Tell the committee what your experience has been with them as men of business and men of integrity.—A. As men of business, I consider that the Chinese merchants are fully equal to our merchants. As men of integrity, I have never met a more honorable, high-minded, correct and truthful set

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of men than the Chinese merchants of our city. I am drawn in contact with people from all nations, all the merchants of our city, in our adjustments. I have never had a case where the Chinese have attempted to undervalue their goods or bring fictitious claims into the adjustments.

"Q. How do the white merchants compare with the Chinese?—A. As a class, I think the Chinese are more honorable than other nationalities, even our own.

"HERMAN HEYNEMAN, sworn and examined.

"By Mr. BROOKS: Question. What is your business?—Answer. A merchant.

"Q. How long have you been engaged in that business here?—A. Fifteen years.

"Q. What is the character of your business?—A. I am engaged in importing goods, also in manufacturing.

"Q. What sort of manufacturing?—A. I am President of the Pioneer Woolen Factory and agent of the Pacific Jute Factory.

"Q. Why do you employ Chinese in your factory?—A. Originally we could not get any others at all. At that time it would have been an absolute impossibility to have run the factory upon white labor, simply because we could not get white operatives.

"Q. Would the factory have been started with white labor?—A. No, sir. As a matter of fact, even with Chinese labor, competition has been so active that we have had no dividends whatever.

"By the CHAIRMAN: Question. What is their character for industry and fidelity?—Answer. I have found in our factory during the last fifteen years that we have not had a single case before the Police Court. All these Chinese laborers live on the premises. They have a building there; and we have not a single case of any kind before the Police Court of murder or rows among themselves, or theft upon the proprietors. I think that speaks well for them. I think there are few factories run entirely by white labor, where the laborers live on the premises, that could say that much.

"By the CHAIRMAN: Question. What is the cause, in your judgment, of the hostility to the Chinese?—Answer. The same cause that has been prevalent all over the earth—

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strangeness of manners. It used to be in England that any man who did not speak English was a 'bloody foreigner.' It did not make any difference whether he was the best man in the world, he was a 'bloody foreigner,' and it was the height of contempt to use that expression. I am just of the opinion of Mr. Wheeler: If this race, instead of keeping themselves in their peculiar dress, were to drink whisky and patronize the barrooms to-day, just like others do, the prejudice would disappear immediately."

"DAVID D. COLTON sworn and examined.

"By Mr. BEE: Question. You are connected with the Southern Pacific Railroad, I belive?—Answer. Yes, I am.

"Q. Are you the Vice-President or President of the Company?—A. At this time I am the Vice-President.

"By the CHAIRMAN: Question. I understand it. My question is, what is the origin or the cause of the opposition to Chinamen, the hostility that evidently prevails among a great many of your people?—Answer. I have asked myself that question a good many times when I have been down at the steamer; and when these inoffensive people in the legitimate pursuit of their business, were going up from the steamer to their lodging-houses, I have seen twenty or thirty of what are termed hoodlums here throwing rocks at them. I have seen quiet, peaceful Chinamen going through the street, when grown men would hit them in the face, knock off their hats, and do all these things which, if done to an American in China, the whole American nation would be in favor of a war; they would be in favor of wiping China from the face of the earth

"Q. If Americans in China were treated the same way?—A. Yes, sir. It is a painful statement for an American to make, under our form of government, but I think there is nobody in this room, who has lived here in the city, who will differ from me on that subject.

"Q. How do the Chinese compare, in point of intellectual ability, capacity to understand, with Americans; do you notice any difference?—A. I look upon the American race as a very superior race. I would also rather undertake to get along with an American, probably, than with a Chinaman; but the Chinese are very apt, they learn quickly, they comprehend a

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thing, and they never drink. I never saw a drunken Chinaman in my life. They are always at themselves; they do not have any sprees. I have heard of this smoking of opium, but, out of three or four thousand on the road, there are no opium smokers. There is no trouble with them; they are always on hand in the morning; they do a full day's work; and they are certainly *the most cleanly laborers that we have.*"

"CHARLES CROCKER sworn and examined.

" By Mr. BEE: Question. How long have you been in this State?—A. I have been here twenty-six years.

" Q. What has been your business?—A. For the last fifteen or sixteen years I have been building railroads.

" Q. You have been acquainted with the operations of the Chinese since their first arrival here?—A. Yes, sir.

" Q. State what, in your judgment, is their effect upon white labor, whether they have the effect to deprive white men of employment, or have had that effect at any time.—A. I think that they afford white men labor. I think that their presence here affords to white men a more elevated class of labor. As I said before, if you should drive these 75,000 Chinamen off, you would take 75,000 white men from an elevated class of work and put them down to doing this low class of labor that the Chinamen are now doing, and, instead of elevating, you would degrade white labor to that extent. For any man to ride through California, from one end of this State to the other, and see the miles upon miles of uncultivated land, and in the mountains millions of acres of timber, and the foothills waiting for some one to go and cultivate them, and then talk about there being too much labor here in the country, is simply nonsense, in my estimation. There is labor for all, and the fact that the Chinamen are here gives an opportunity to white men to go in and cultivate this land, when they could not cultivate it otherwise.

"Q. You think, then, that there is no conflict between the interest of the white and the Chinese laborer?—A. No, sir.

Dr. STOUT, Member of the State Board of Health.

" By the CHAIRMAN: Q. How does the squalor and filth of the Chinese quarter compare with other parts of the city, or in other words, is the filth and squalor of the Chinese quarter greater than that of some other parts of the city?—A. The squalor of the Chinese quarter is not much greater than

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that which exists in other parts of this city from other people. Of course their quarter is disagreeable, because it is perhaps more densely populated, but there is less care taken of it If ample care were taken by the city authorities toward the drainage and the cleaning, I do not think they would be so much inferior to the squalor, for instance, such as I saw nearly at the summit of Telegraph Hill, a day or two ago. I was called to see a sick child up there, and the filth and stench from want of cleanliness was terrible. I can take you down to the lower part of the city, below Montgomery street, and show you much more squalor in the form of neglect, want of drainage, and want of proper care, than you would find in the Chinese quarter. There has been a great exaggeration in all those charges against the Chinese.

"Q. What is the care bestowed upon the Chinese quarter by the city authorities? Is that treated as carefully and as fully as other parts of the city?—A. I have been under the impression for a long time that it was, but I have since been informed that most of the garbage carts and the sweeping of the streets is done at the expense of the Chinese, and not at the expense of the city; that they are left to take care of themselves."

While hundreds of thousands of dollars have been expended to clean the streets of this city, not one dollar has been expended by the Board of Supervisors to clean the streets in the Chinese quarters for ten years past. Yet the whole district is swept every morning by Italians, the garbage carted away, at an expense to the Chinese residents of over $5000 a year. The streets are kept as clean as any other business portion of the city, the Supervisors' book to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Congressional Committee was in session investigating the Chinese question for seven weeks. Senator Morton, as Chairman, in his report, before quoted, says:

SENATOR MORTON'S REPORT.

"The most of the Chinese were laboring men, who came from the rural districts in China and were accustomed to agricultural pursuits. A few of them were scholars in their own country. Some of them were merchants, and a very few mechanics. As a rule, they are industrious, temperate and

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honest in their dealings. Some thousands of them are employed as household servants in the cities and in the country, in this capacity the testimony generally concurs in giving them a high character. They very readily learn to perform all kinds of household duty, are devoted to their employment, and soon become exceedingly skillful. The testimony proved that they went to all parts of the State to serve in that capacity, when other servants or help of that kind could not be obtained from the cities, and that if they were banished it would be very hard,—in fact, as many of the witnesses said, impossible,—to supply their places.

"As laborers upon the farms and in the gardens and vineyards, nearly all of the witnesses speak of them in the highest terms. Colonel Hollister, one of the largest farmers in California, and a man of great intelligence, testified that without the Chinese the wheat and other crops in California could not be harvested and taken to market, that white labor could not be obtained for prices that would enable the former to carry on his business, that any considerable increase in the price of labor, would render the production of wheat and almost every other agricultural product unprofitable, and they would have to be abandoned.

"In the construction of railroads and other public works of California, the Chinese have been of the greatest service and have performed the largest part of the labor. Several distinguished gentlemen connected with the railroads testified that without Chinese labor they could not have been constructed, and that if the companies had been compelled to rely upon white labor, it would have been so difficult to procure and so costly that the works must have been abandoned and, in fact, would not have been undertaken. As laborers upon the public works they were entirely reliable, worked more hours than white men, were not given to strikes, and never undertook, by combinations, to control the price of labor.

"The chief point against the Chinese, and that which was put forth as the ground of movements against them, was that they worked for less wages than the white people, and thus put their labor, or compelled them to work for wages upon which they could not subsist their families and educate their children. That Chinamen worked for lower wages and per-

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formed the same amount of labor for less money than the white people, is unquestionably true. They have largely performed the hardest and lowest kind of labor in the State, such as the construction of railroads, reclaiming the tule lands, and every form of drudgery and unskilled labor; but that they have injuriously interfered with the white people of California, or have done them a serious injury may well be doubted. The great fact is, that there is to-day, and always has been, a scarcity of labor upon the Pacific Coast, there is work for all who are there, both white and Mongolian and the State would undoubtedly develop much more rapidly with their more and cheaper labor. There was much intelligent testimony to the fact that the Chinese, by their labor, opened up large avenues and demand for white labor. The Chinese performed the lowest kind, while the whites monopolized that of a superior character. This was well stated by Mr. Crocker, a very intelligent witness, largely interested in the Central Pacific and Southern California railroads, in answer to a question as to what was the effect of Chinese upon white labor, and whether it was to deprive white men of employment, or had had that effect at any time.

"It is said that the presence of the Chinese in California prevents the immigration thither of white people, and, therefore, stands in the way of the growth of the State. If such is the fact (which I do not admit), it springs from the *persecution visited upon the Chinamen, and the exaggerated declarations which have been made in excuse for them.*

"That the Chinese interfere with white labor and leave white people out of work, or reduce their wages by competition below the living point. If white people are deterred from going to California, it is not a legitamate result of the presence of the Chinese, but by the gross misrepresentations which have been made. Looking at the question broadly, and at the effect which Chinese labor has exerted in California, running through a period of twenty-five years, I am strongly of the opinion that, but for the presence of the Chinese, California would not now have more than one-half or two-thirds of her present white population; that Chinee labor has opened up many avenues and new industries for white labor, made many kinds of business possible, and laid the foundations of manufacturing interests that bid fair to rise to enormous propor-

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tions; that the presence of the Chinese, holding out the prospect for labor at reasonable rates, induced the transfer of large amounts of capital and immigration to California, and of large numbers of business and enterprising men, thus making California the field for immigrants from every class of society, including laboring men; and, lastly, that the laboring men of California have ample employment, and are better paid than in almost any other part of the country. * * * While there was complaint that the Chinese, by their cheap labor, took it from white people, inquiry failed to show that there was any considerable number of white people in California out of employment, except those who were wilfully idle."

Such were the conclusions reached by one of the most distinguished statesmen of the country. What was true then, is true now, concerning these persecuted people.

Recent events that are transpiring here prove that it is as true to-day as it was then. As illustrations of how the Chinese compelled the white labor to walk the streets of this city in idleness, I cite the following circumstances:

The following paragraphs in relation to the woes of the white cigar-makers should be read in connection with the statistics of the cigar industry in San Francisco, which will be found in this statement.

"The sufferings of white cigar-makers was most pathetically proclaimed by the press of this city for months. It was said that this class were driven to poverty and want by the Chinese cigar-makers. It was indeed enough to enlist the good office, if true, of every philanthropist. The white firms engaged in the business finally agreed to give work to these suffering people, and discharge their Chinese. It was at once discovered that there were no idle cigar-makers here and the result was two agents were sent east who returned a few weeks since with 200. More are to follow. It is charged also that our boys and girls are growing up in idleness and deprived of learning any trade by Chinese competition. Last week there arrived here overland thirty girls to take the place of Chinese employed in a jute factory. The press this week informed us that the noted millionaire viticulturist of Los Angeles County, E. J. Baldwin, Esq., having succumbed to the Chinese agitators, had sent an agent to the Southern States

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to obtain seventy-five negroes, to take the place of Chinese on his ranch. The citizens of the beautiful city of the sea, Santa Barbara, in order to test the matter that there was much suffering for want of employment by poor families, built a steam laundry, withdrew their patronage from the Chinese, run the new enterprise for seven days, then closed the concern, posting a notice, 'Closed for want of operatives.' The foregoing incidents could be quoted at great length, but this much is given as specimen events transpiring within the last sixty days. It has become a necessity to these Chinese agitators to prevent the people of the East from knowing how Chinese are outraged and persecuted. It is claimed that they are not educated up to a degree that they can grasp the situation. and, 'do not, as a rule, understand the question.' Hence this persecution that is daily heralded by the press, wherein the Chinese are driven from 'pillar to post' must cease, until Congress can act. In other words, stop this persecution long enough to take another turn at the screws."

Hardship Endured by the Exempt Class.

Article IV. of the Angel treaty says: "If the measures (laws) as enacted are found to work hardships upon the subjects of China, the Chinese minister at Washington may bring the matter to the notice of the Secretary of State of the United States."

It is undeniable that the difficulties and restrictions that surround the exempt class, from re-entering this port, are immeasureably beyond that required of the restricted laborer. There is not the slightest reference in the two Acts, nor in the bill now before Congress, in any manner, relating to resident Chinese merchants. Article II. says they shall "be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord." The writer has caused over two hundred writs of *habeas corpus* to be taken out before the United States Courts to enable well known merchants to re-enter this country. Many had branch mercantile houses in Honolulu, Panama, Mexico, and Victoria, British Columbia, that at stated periods needed their presence; residents here, many of them, for thirty years,—yet, after days of detention on board are compelled to appeal to the Courts. Ninety per cent of the cases had consular certificates, issued

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by the Chinese Consulate at this port, identifying the holder as a resident merchant. When one of this class desired to visit a foreign port, on making application to the Collector of the Port, he was informed that he must go to the Consulate for a certificate. Upon his return he is told that he cannot land, because there is nothing in the law relating to such a certificate. This persecution is in full blast to-day, every Chinese merchant that comes to this port is compelled to sue out a writ; the cost in each case will average one hundred dollars.

The United States judges before whom these writs are brought plainly denounce the action of these officials. Mr. Justice Field, in his opinion, in the case of Low Yam Chow, a Chinese merchant, after citing U. S. v. Kirby, 7th Wall.. 481, and quoting from Carlisle v. U. S., 16th Wall., 153, said: "These cases would be sufficient to justify us in giving a construction to the Act under consideration in harmony with the supplementary treaty, even were the general terms used susceptible of a larger meaning. Its purpose will be held to be; what the treaty authorized to put a restriction upon the emigration of laborers, including those skilled in any trade or art, and not to interefere by excluding Chinese merchants or putting unnecessary and embarrassing restrictions upon their coming with the commercial relations between China and this country. Commerce with China is of the greatest value, and is constantly increasing, and it should require something stronger than vague inferences to justify a construction which would not be in harmony with that treaty and which would tend to lessen that commerce. It would seem, however, from reports of the action of certain officers of the Government, possessed of more zeal than knowledge, that it is their purpose to bring this about, and thus make the act as odious as possible."

Honorable Ogden Hoffman, United States District Court, in a similar case says:

"Nothing would more gratify the enemies of the bill than that in its practical operation it should be found to be unreasonable, unjust and oppressive. If Chinese merchants coming here from all parts of the world are excluded because they fail to produce a certificate impossible for them to obtain; if a merchant long resident here and on his way to New York by a route which for a short distance passes through Canada

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is to be stopped at Niagara bridge for want of a certificate and on retracing his steps is to be stopped at Detroit on a similar pretext, and on the ground that in each case he is to be regarded as coming to the United States from a foreign country within the true intent and meaning of the law; if a Chinese merchant similarly resident in this city and desirous of temporarily visiting British Columbia or Mexico is to be refused, as it seems he must be, a certificate by the Custom House authorities under section 4 on the ground that he is not a laborer and on his return after a few weeks absence. is to be prohibited from landing on the ground that he has no certificate of identification issued by the Chinese Government under section 6; if, in these and in similar cases, the operation of law is found to work manifest injustice, oppression and absurdity, its repeal cannot long be averted.

"I am satisfied that the friends of this law do it the best service by giving to it a reasonable and just construction, conformable to its spirit and intent and the solemn pledges of the treaty, and not one calculated to bring it into odium and disrepute."

Such in brief are a tithe of the "hardships" that surround the exempt class, who, by solemn treaty obligations, are to go and come freely, without let or hindrance. As a matter of fact they are the prohibited class.

CHINESE CHEAP LABOR.

Is a delusion and a cheat, when applied to the Chinese on the Pacific Coast. The average wages of the Chinese farm hand is $25 per month. On the railroad it is $26 to $30. As domestic servants, their pay is above the Caucasian. The average price paid Chinese cooks in this city is $27.50 per month. House servants and waiters, $22.50 per month, with board. Pierce workers in the factories, such as cigars, boots, shoes and underwear, are better paid than the same class in the Eastern States. That the Eastern manufacturer can, and does, compete with Chinese so-called cheap labor, let the following show, with over three thousand miles of expensive transportation. It is claimed that the Chinese have monopolized the boot and shoe business, and that the white man is driven to the wall. Notwithstanding this, California has im-

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ported from the East the past four years 203,982 cases of boots and shoes.

With material to make candles cheaper than in any State of the Union, California imported the past four years 448,204 boxes. Of the article of soap, there has been imported here in two years past 3,561,130 pounds, and of starch 6,050,255 pounds, and so on through the list, in the face of Chinese cheap labor sophistry. The poor ignorant white man is told that the Chinese live on 10 cents a day, because he eats rice. Rice is a luxury to the Chinese, like the potato to the Irishman, and the macaroni to the Italian. Rice costs 7½ cents per pound; flour is only 2½ cents. The Chinese laborer lives as well and eats as much fish and vegetables as his white competitor. Nowhere in the United States is food so cheap and labor so dear as in California.

That distinguished historian and pioneer of the Pacific Coast, John S. Hittell, so ably discusses the

BENEFITS OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION

in an article in the February number of *The Overland Monthly*, that I quote a moiety from it in conclusion:

"The employment of Chinese has enabled capitalists to invest money in factories with safety, and to promptly dismiss such white laborers as would not work faithfully; and to give high wages to others. Gradually the proportion of whites increased. In 1865, four out of five operatives in the San Francisco woolen mills were Asiatics; now more than four of the five are whites. By the aid of the Chinamen, thousands of whites have acquired the skill, and the employment now give them a comfortable support in San Francisco.

"My second proposition is that the same influences which made Chinese labor beneficial to the State ten and twenty years ago still continue to predominate. The industry of California consists mainly in the production of raw material; a large part of her income is sent for the importation of manufactures, especially those of finer qualities, which, because of large price in proportion to bulk, can bear the expense of long and costly transportation. Our food is the cheapest, and our manufactured articles generally the dearest in the world.

"The natural resources of California are far from being

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fully developed; her territory far from being fully occupied. Out of 100,000,000 acres not 10,000,000 are cultivated. Out of 10,000,000 acres susceptible of irrigation not 1,000,000 are supplied. Millions of acres fit for the *prune*, the *almond*, the *fig*, the *apricot*, or the *vine, are lying neglected, because agricultural labor is twice as dear here as in Illinois, and three times as dear as in Europe.* Sixteen counties, with an aggregate area larger than that of any one of half a dozen European kingdoms, are inaccessible by rail ,or are touched only at the borders. Any influence that largely develops the industry of the State, that makes roads and builds factories, that plants orchards and vineyards, must give more employment and better wages to laborers than they would have otherwise; and especially to white men, who have a monopoly of many kinds of skill, resulting from familiarity with the language, machinery, and laws of the country, and besides immense advantages from superior privileges of citizenship, landownership, and personal security."

The following is extracted from an able paper by John Bonner, which was published in the *Californian Illustrated Magazine*, April, 1894:

"The time has passed to discuss the right of a nation to exclude foreigners from its soil. Rightly or wrongly, the Supreme Court has settled the question; henceforth, if a foreigner tries to settle on forbidden ground he must come with bow and brand. But the policy of Chinese exclusion is still debatable, and after a dozen years of actual experience we ought to be able to discuss it with more light than the anti-Chinese of the early eighties enjoyed.

"It is interesting to note how few of the prophecies of those days have been confirmed. The authors of the first Restriction Acts confidently predicted that the exclusion of Chinamen would lead to an active immigration of Eastern and European peasants to work in the orchards and vineyards of this State. They said it was the presence of the cheap-labor Mongol which kept out the labor that was developing Iowa and Kansas and Minnesota. It fact, Chinese exclusion has not been followed by any remarkable increase of Eastern or European migration. There has always been a steam of white immigration to this State, but it did not swell materially after 1880. In the decade 1880-90, Nebraska more than doubled her population, Minne-

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sota nearly doubled hers, the Dakotas nearly quadrupled theirs, while California increased hers from 864,697 to 1,208,130.

"In an article written in 1880, the late Senator John F. Miller spoke of the irrepressible conflict between Christian and Chinese civilization on this coast, and predicted that it would end 'in the displacement or extinction of one or the other.' This is precisely the argument which Philip the Second used to justify the Spanish Inquisition. As Philip declared there could not be two churches, so Miller was sure there could not be two civilizations. If the Spanish monarch had lived to the present day he would have been amazed to see Protestantism and Catholicism thriving side by side in the Netherlands, and the Senator from California, were he still in the flesh, would have to confess that, fourteen years after he wrote, neither civilization had made any inroads upon the other. John Chinaman is just the same old John Chinaman that used to work in the diggings, and neither the doctrine of Confucius nor the use of chopsticks has been engrafted upon our life. It is noticed that, unlike the race to which we belong, the Chinese never meddle with the religion or the politics of the countries to which they migrate. They do not ask for votes; they make no proselytes; they go about their business unobtrusively, earn and save all the money they can, and, when they do not lose it at tan, take it home to spend in their old age in the Flowery Land. In the Philippine Isles where they have had a foothold off and on for three centuries, in Java where they have lived for two centuries, in this country and in Australia where they have been half a century, they have never spoken a word or taken a step which was calculated to bring the two forms of civilization into conflict. They are content with theirs and they never object to ours.

"Three or four years ago the *Examiner* newspaper had the exceedingly bright idea of sounding the planters of the southern counties on the subject of Chinese labor. Circular letters were addressed to them, begging the favor of a frank opinion on the subject. Several score replies were received. Almost without exception the planters declared that they were in favor of the repeal of the Restriction Act and of the readmission of Chinamen under proper limitations. They said that the only white labor they could obtain was unreliable and

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unsatisfactory. Germans, Irishmen, Portuguese, Spaniards, would not put in a full day's work in the fierce sun; many of them knocked off at noon; others got drunk and lost two or three days in the week; some stole; and even with these defects the supply of them was below the demand. Chinamen were just the laborers the ranchers wanted. They drove a hard bargain for wages, but the bargain once made they lived up to it and gave no trouble. They worked faithfully and were generally honest and intelligent. They lived by themselves in their Chinese huts, prepared their own food, and had no wants except a supply of water for washing, on which they insisted. The planters, generally, agreed that, if the supply of Chinamen were not reopened, the limit of fruit production had been reached in southern California. As it was, large quantities of plums, prunes, peaches, apricots, oranges and lemons were lost every year for want of an adequate supply of labor in the picking season, and when the new orchards came into bearing the loss would be still larger. It appeared that the resource on which other countries rely, the labor of boys and girls, is not available in this State. Our growing youths will not work all day in an orchard under the broiling sun. They say they cannot. Such work can only be satisfactorily accomplished by Chinamen or negroes.

"If the *Examiner* had presevered in the purpose it must have had in view when the circulars were issued, it might, perhaps, by this time have effected a revolution in public sentiment on the Chinese question. By dint of hammering solid truths into the public head, a vigorous and intelligent newspaper may change many minds. But there were two classes to which the discussion was unpalatable; the politicians, who discerned a possible loss of their battle horse, and the labor unions, which shivered at the thought of open, square competition with industrious Chinamen not addicted to whisky or beer. These two classes brought influence to bear, and the newspaper was muzzled.

The following from Joaquin Miller, published in the *California Illustrated Magazine* for December, 1893, is pertinent today:

"Finally, if I were California, I would not only put the tramp to work, but I would protect every person within my lines who cared to work, of whatever name or nation. If the

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farmer and the fruit-grower shall not be allowed to employ such men as he may please to employ without asking permission of the tramp, then farewell to fair California. I can't say certainly how it is in Oregon and Washington; perhaps farmers are not pushed to the wall at times up there as they are here where harvest time is so short; besides, they have some Indians there who are good in the hop fields; but as for California, she needs her brown men. California needs her Chinamen, she wants her Chinamen and she is going to keep her Chinamen; and California is going to protect her laborers in her fruit fields, even though she has to shoot down every tramp in the State.

"I take the responsibility of saying to the 'President and all others in authority' at this Christmas time, that the people of California not only will protect the Chinamen now here, but they want the Golden Gates swung wide open to all the world, as God made it.

"And why has this not been said before? It is a long story. and the trouble grew slowly; but finally, the tramp or Sand-lot element, all voters, became a formidable factor in politics.

"Briefly then, every bright 'heir apparent to the throne,' editor, and politician of any sort fell down before that monstrous Sand-lot god and worshipped there till it grew to be the fat and formidable beast of today.

"The farmer wants and must have labor, and cheap labor at that. His margin of profits is small. His busiest season is hot and short. He can trust the Chinaman and he cannot trust the tramp.

"And we tillers of the soil in this wilderness and in this night of trouble have already fixed our eyes on the pillar of fire which we are to follow.

"This question of cheap labor and the employment of whom we please to till our fields is to be settled at the ballot—the Australian ballot, mind you; not the saloon ballot or the sand-lot ballot. The issue will be: Shall a man employ whom he pleases and pay what he can? or shall he submit to the dictation of tramps?

"Had I the qualities or even a disposition to be the next Governor of California I would lay down these hurriedly written pages as the chief planks in my platform; and trust-

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ing to my fellow toilers and tillers of the soil in California would quietly pack my trunk for the Capital."

Although the majority of the American Federation of Labor are opposed to the admission of Chinese laborers into this country; the organization is by no means a unit on the subject. It is well known that the Socialists, who are also trade-unionists, and members of the Federation, are by the logic of their constitution and the principles announced in their propaganda opposed to the enaction of exclusion laws.

The following from Mr. Bandlow, a printer, and well recognized labor leader, is given as an authoritative expression of Socialist sentiments on the Chinese question:

"The law excluding Chinese from America will soon expire, and the *exclusion* of Mongol labor is exciting attention from the labor world. While the majority of the men prominent in the labor movement in this country are expressing themselves in favor of the re-enactment of the Gerry law, from Cleveland comes the first discordant note in the plea of labor, *asking that the Chinaman be treated 'as a human being, and not discriminated against in favor of the other families of the world.'*

"*Robert Bandlow,* who is known all over the country as one of the most aggressive leaders in favor of labor, some time ago stood alone in the councils of the International Typographical Union in its convention at Birmingham, Ala., and *under a storm of hisses and looks of scorn championed the cause of the Chinaman and protested against the indorsement by that body of a renewal of the life of the Gerry law.*

"In speaking of his attitude on the question, made germain by the recent warning of President Mitchell to the miners of Pennsylvania, that they must have the Chinese excluded or they would replace them in the mines, he said:

"'*I am first of all things a man, endowed with common feelings of humanity and endowed with the same desires and ambitions, the same longings for freedom and liberty, for home and comfort as other members of the human family.*' said Mr. Bandlow, yesterday. 'Emigration is the universal right. Human beings were placed upon this earth with rights, among others to select for themselves that spot on the God-given earth where they may the best enjoy themselves and develop their soul longings and better natures. But three

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centuries separate the Mongol of today from the Englishman and German of our earliest inhabitants. No one questions the right of the landers at Plymouth to establish themselves on the historic rock. Today by power it is sought to extend a system which deprives a certain portion of the earth's inhabitants from the same privilege. As a Socialist I oppose this iniquitous proceeding and curtailing of human liberty.

"No man ever left his own home of his own volition. If he went elsewhere it was because others wanted him in his new environment. It is not the Chinaman who comes, but the capitalist who invites, that is responsible for any importations of the cheap laborer. The condition on the Pacific Coast of the Chinaman is the same as the Italian problem on the Atlantic. Capital wants their labor, is willing to hire them at under-paid wages or they would not come. In our competitive system where labor is compelled to go into the markets and get the best price for its efforts that it may, the introduction of the Chinaman is but a logical incident, and the laborer who does not see his own welfare strongly enough to throw aside the system should not object to one of its evils.

"The Chinaman is to be excluded because he degrades labor. Labor degrades itself when it consents to live under a system where it can be sold for only a portion of its worth. Labor today sets its own estimate upon its worth, accepts the half portion with eager hands, protests only when the market is driven too strongly against it and is estopped from denying to other laborers the right to place the valuation on its own worth.

"That the country is not able to support the great influx of labor is untrue. The State of Texas alone should be able to support the population of the world on a scientific basis of living. Surely the resources of the whole country would not be overtaxed by the introduction of the celestials who may be brought here by those who desire cheap labor."

To show the *status* of the Single Taxers and their relation to the Chinese question, I can do no greater favor to the reader than to the opening speech that was delivered in San Francisco in the winter of 1902. The speaker, Mr. Granger, is a journeyman tailor, and would if the exclusionists were right, be injured by Chinese competition. The reader will

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notice how thoroughly Mr. Granger has answered Judge Maguire.

But the reader must judge for himself. The following is Mr. Granger's speech, in part:

DOES THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SINGLE TAX JUSTIFY THE GOVERNMENT OR THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE EXCLUSION OF CHINESE OR OTHER IMMIGRANTS?

"What is the Philosophy of the Single Tax? Briefly, the Philosophy of the Single Tax springs from the belief that all men, or, more correctly, all human beings, are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. The first of these is primordial. The others base upon that. The right to life necessarily carries with it the right to the use of the earth, without which life itself could not be originated or maintained. Therefore the right to life and to the use of the earth for the origination and the maintenance of that life exist alone from the fact of the existence of the individual, and not merely as a grant from society. From which it follows that the right to use any portion of the earth is absolute and unlimited as long and as far as, if not more than one person wants to use one and the same natural opportunity at the same time. As soon as two or more persons seek access to, and use of, the same natural opportunity, then, and not till then, such right becomes limited by the like or equal right of that other or those others. Then it becomes the duty of society to exact from the withholder of such portion of the earth such premium as will prove adequate compensation to the party or parties from whom he withholds it for his or her exclusion from access to such natural opportunity.

"This is, in condensed form, the philosophy of the Single Tax. It seeks to preserve, or regain, those inalienable rights of the individual which existed before the institution of any government. They exist independently of any form of society or government. The Single Tax Philosophy recognizes the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. It applies to and includes all human beings, no matter what their race, their nationality or their religion.

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"One of these individual rights directly deducible from both the right to Liberty and the right to the Pursuit of Happiness is the Right of Migration,—the right to move about in the world, the right to enjoy life where life seems most enjoyable. This right finds its limit only in the equal right of every other human being to do likewise.

"No government, therefore, can justly prohibit any individual from traveling or sojourning upon that part of the earth over which it exercises jurisdiction until such individual has forefited such natural right by the commission, or attempted commission, of some crime against law of equal rights.

"This, I believe, is the ground, and the only ground, on which we can rightly debate the question of Chinese Exclusion. If we can justify it at all we must do so upon the principles just enunciated. And such justification must prove conclusive or final in the minds of all who are willing to grant others every right which they claim for themselves. And I believe it self-evident that only such people are in the right frame of mind to deal justly with this subject. And all others —no matter how great their number,—no matter how well-informed they may be,—no matter how good their intentions, —are prejudiced on this subject. Though they may carry their point their success will prove a victory for intolerance and the signal for further encroachments upon the highest natural rights of humanity.

"Thus far I believe I have stated the case fairly, though necessarily with great brevity. I must now come directly to the very heart of the question,—that is the ground on which those who differ advocate and justify exclusion. On that part I must admit that I am not as well informed as I would like to be. I have not yet heard or read of any reason that would, to any fair-minded man, justify the exclusion of all Chinese from this country. But that, of course, does not prove that such reason does not exist. The burden of proof lies upon the exclusionists for right reason must grant that Chinamen have the right to come to this country and to live in it unless they forfeit or have forfeited such right.

"I will not now attempt the review of the arguments for exclusion which have fallen under my limited observation.

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We may class them under three heads:—the Economic, the Moral, and the Political.

"The economic argument is that Chinamen are willing to work for very low wages,—that they can subsist on very little; that, out of small wages they can save so much that, after a few years here, they can and do take their savings out of this country to China. And, that, by doing all this, they lower the standard of wages which would be maintained if not raised; that their frugality is an obstacle to the free revolving of the wheels of commerce, and that, finally, when they do go away, they do us still another injury by taking along with them all that they have been able to save out of their small wages.

"Now it is true that they do work for small wages when compelled to do so. It is also true that they can and do underbid American or, perhaps, any other workmen, when looked at in the matter of dollars and cents alone. But it is not a proof that the product of their labor is cheaper than that of the other workmen. Were it so, however, it would only prove that they were the fittest to survive which should be an admonition to the rest of us to get a move on or get left.

"Furthermore, if their willingness to accept low wages could be made to righteously justify their exclusion, whither would the logic of such an argument certainly lead us? They are not Chinamen who fill the sweat-shops of this country in the East and the Northeast, in which the lowest wages are said to average not more than $76 a year. They are not Chinamen who till the fields of the South or furnish the cheap labor of the mills South and East, or for the coal mines of Pennsylvania and elsewhere, where wages hardly keep body and soul together. No one has yet dared to say or to claim that such conditions exist in those localities, or in others one might name, on account of the presence of Chinamen in this country. No, Chinamen are not the cause of the lowering of wages in America. Their exclusion would not stop the downward tendency which has set in and is now working full time, 24 hours a day, without holidays, every day in every year, and will continue so to work every day of every year until the people shall become wise enough to reverse that tendency from downward to upward.

"As proof of this assertion, the Census Bulletins now issu-

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ing from Washington show conclusively that the standard of wages in the United States is steadily going down, year by year, and even day by day, and that, too, not alone in the industries and occupations which employ Chinamen, but in nearly all industries and employments or occupations.

"That this is so and could not well be otherwise the members of this society should clearly understand the moment the case is thus stated. The fundamental factor in reducing wages we find in our land laws which legalize the withholding of land from use, and holding it for speculation only. This forces the laborer to accept lower and lower wages as fast as that portion of his earnings which he must yield in land rent is used in withholding from his use more and more of natural opportunities. This goes on till at last, as now, practically no opportunities which afford a living are open to him without the payment of rent. In this condition the ever-increasing power and efficiency of labor-saving machinery, which, in a really free country, would be the free man's servant and his most valuable auxiliary becomes the instrument of his oppression and actual enslavement. For, no matter how cheap labor may be labor-saving machinery is cheaper still, and labor. being forced to demand employment of those controlling the natural opportunities which he must use, has to compete, not with Chinamen at low wages, but with machinery at still lower wages. That is, the owner of machinery having to deal with labor shut out of access to land by the effect of our land laws, are able, as employers of labor, to dictate terms to labor.

"It is true, indeed, that labor-saving machinery is not self-acting, and therefore requires laborers to operate it. But it is also true that when once in action machinery requires less and less of labor to superintend or to operate it and thus constantly eliminates more and more of the labor previously required. Thus, as it grows more and more automatic, it continually produces an ever-increasing surplus of labor, potential if not actual. It matters not if all occupations are not thus affected; a sufficient number of them are so affected as to produce the over-supply of labor and, that once done, employers promptly supply the rest, Chinaman or no Chinaman.

"Our trade unions do all they can to diminish the evil effects, but they cannot reach or alter the causes. They act

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like an obstacle in the way of a superior force; they retard but cannot arrest the tendency of lower and lower wages. Nothing can do that, short of the resumption of our greatest birthright, the right to the use of the land. This we could fully obtain by the application of the Single Tax,—unlimited.

"The second great economic grievance embodied in the accusation against the Chinaman is, that he don't spend enough of his low wages here to suit somebody. This no person of common sense, having any idea of morality, can seriously discuss or defend for a moment.

"It is enough to say that, even if this alleged practice is not as good for our merchants, still the Chinese are acting fully within their rights by practicing frugality, no matter how far they may carry the practice. That is wholly their own business as it was that of our own forefathers in New England and, later, of the great West, whose habitual and even voluntary frugality fully equaled that of the average Chinaman of today among us.

"Now as to the third economic grievance: The Chinaman injures us by taking his savings along with him out of the country in which he made them, back to China. In any honest sense of the word this is simply absurd. Doubly so. In the first place, it accuses him of selling his labor for less than it is worth and thereby contributing to the ruin of the country Then it charges him with taking away out of the country too much of that too little which he had worked for. The truth is,—and no one who sees or thinks can rightly deny it,—he leaves behind him in this country some of the products of his labor for which he was so slightly paid and which should, rightfully, be his own.

"Nor does the accusation of depleting our currency possess any more truth or force. Chinamen in China do not need our money and could not use it if they had it. As for our precious metals, we are at all times willing to sell them to whomsoever will pay the price. Now, observe that when a Chinaman takes five or ten dollars in gold to China he had first to pay the price in labor or in labor's product here. As a matter of fact, they do not take United States money at all to China. Instead of doing that they buy with it, here, Mexican silver dollars which are, with us, not only merchandise, but almost a drug in the market.

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"From what we have seen so far no good reason exists to justify exclusion on economic grounds, and I do not believe any can be given that will stand the test of true economic reasoning.

"Let us consider, then, the alleged moral reasons. The Chinese have many good qualities, but they are no more nearly perfect than other peoples. They have vices in common with others and some that are peculiarly their own, such as opium-smoking, for instance. As to that, however, we must bear in mind, in regard to this habit, that it was forced upon them and is kept in force upon them, by a nation claiming the highest rank in civilization and Christianity,—that is, England. They are not always truthful and cannot always be depended upon to tell the truth even when under oath unless it may suit their purposes and mood to do so. But, in this case, as in many others, when compared with other races, it seems to me that the difference lies not in our superior respect for the truth, but in the racial fact that the Chinese are more stolid, less sensitive to pain and, therefore, less sensitive to punishment when found out or convicted.

"They are said to be great gamblers, but perhaps not more so than any other equal number of any other race from the highest to the lowest, when placed in similar situations.

"As Chinamen are here they are accused of indifference to dirt and of living in ways to defy sanitation even to the point of endangering our health as well as their own. Much of this, I believe, may be true. But I believe that this additional fact is also true,—that it lies easily within our power to prevent and wholly correct this whenever we shall be thoroughly in earnest about it. Cleanliness is a question of degree more than of kind and it would be quite impossible to tell who is clean and who is not except by comparison of standards as well as of persons. And I truly believe that in all large cities, even those which have never known the Chinese inhabitant, there are spots to which our San Francisco Chinatown would seem excellently sanitary in comparison. Take the old 'Mulberry Bend' in New York, for example. They are the spots in which the poor are forced to congregate, but such are never the voluntary choice of any human beings.

"All other objections of a political nature, it seems to me, we can dismiss at once. The privilege of citizenship can be

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conferred or not upon any applying for them. As to this point, it is timely to say that, while our laws actually deny naturalization to Chinese, they are still accused of remaining foreigners, not only the immigrants, but even the native born. Need one say more? In regard to the native-born Chinaman, I believe it is yet to soon to have found out what kind of an American citizen he makes, or would make. If I am rightly informed the last registration in this city was the first at which the Chinamen had the chance to register at all. I think that many of those entitled to register did so but whether they voted, if they did vote, I do not know and think very few people do.

"To soothe the consciences of the opponents of exclusion it is said that we grant as much as we claim,—that we are willing to let the Chinese in China put up their bars against us there as much as we put ours up against them here. This might seem reasonable if the inhabitants of the earth, or of our two nations, were about equally divided as to the resources which they control. But when we compare the population which China has to sustain with the population of this country and also compare the area and natural resources of each with those of the other we must admit that, unless we can show that we are made of much superior clay and, therefore, that we can show a better right to the use of the earth than they can, we are playing the role of the 'Dog in the Manger.,

"But is it ever true that we are quite willing to let Chinamen in China put up the bars against us? I do not think so. At any rate no protest from exclusionists was heard when our government lately took most active, efficient and noble part in the joint expedition or invasion, having for its object to prevent China from doing that very thing.

"Nor do we hear any protest from that quarter against the abominable war against the Philippinos, which involves the same principles.

"Again it is said that we have been given this continent in trust for liberty,—that to allow a few millions of Chinese to escape from the conditions in their own country, which they might remedy at once did they so choose, would be to our eternal shame instead of our credit.

"Let us see what this reason thus given for Chinese exclusion yields under careful analysis:

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"In the first place, I deny that we were given this country at all in any sense which the phrase implies. The truth is that in that sense this country was given to the Red man and not to the White. But the White having greater brute force, greater numbers and more mental ability, if you prefer, have about succeeded in getting a quit-claim from the former.

"But, in whatever way it came about, it is true and will stand forever to the glory of the people of the United States, that till within the last few years, this so-called trust, thus self-assumed, was administered in the interest of liberty. And it was the proud boast of the people of this country that it offered a sure refuge, a free asylum, to the oppressed of every land. At that time the administrators of the trust did not tell the oppressed of any land that they might remedy the conditions under which they suffered. On the contrary they recognized the fact that as governments are constituted it is possible to bring about more tyranny by agitation for freedom. They had not yet forgotten, what so many do forget, that, had they failed in their great struggle for independence, which contingency was at all times possible and at one time even very probable, had they not succeeded in getting outside help, the sure result would have been greater subjection to worse tyrrany than ever, instead of the noble freedom they more nobly won.

"But now exclusionists propose that on this very continent, which they boast was given us in trust for liberty, the trustees shall forbid some of the people who are seeking liberty free access to it. Is it not the very negation of the trust? Is it not the very height of paradoxical? If Chinese come hither to escape conditions in their own country is not such coming proof positive that those conditions are not conditions of freedom? And, in coming hither, they must seek more freedom, not less. Surely they cannot injure liberty, the very condition which they leave their native land to seek.

"Now, then, if this continent was given us in trust for Liberty, how in the name of Common Sense can we consistently exclude any human being from it, especially that human being who voluntarily comes hither seeking that blessing of liberty, without conclusively demonstrating thereby that we

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have criminally violated our high trust and thus shamelessly confessing our voluntary unworthiness?

"In conclusion let me say that I believe this agitation for exclusion is really another phase of the 'Protection to American Labor' idea. That fetich has lost many of its worshipers since the publication of 'Protection or Free Trade,' but it is by no means dead yet. May this exclusion idea prove its last harmful kick. Then may there come the Era of Justice, ushering in the Brotherhood of Man too long delayed by the too-successful tactics of the privileged classes to divide the working classes and still forther helped by the refusal of all to live according to the Golden Rule. Then shall this accomplished 'Brotherhood of Man' demonstrate the universal 'Fatherhood of God' and command His eternal blessing through all the blessed 'Millennium' toward which our struggling, stumbling race has so long and so hopefully striven."

The following address was delivered at the Annual dinner of the Unitarian Club of San Francisco, in San Francisco. Nov. 25, 1901, by a gentleman who has spent practically all his life in the Chinese Empire, a gentleman than whom there is probably no man living more familiar with the Chinese conditions, and who by reason of a residence of some years in this State has coupled a knowledge of those conditions with a knowledge of those in America. Dr. John Fryer, of the University of California:

"Mr. CHAIRMAN and GENTLEMEN: In complying with the request of your Committee that I should speak on the negative side of this resolution, I wish, in the first place, to refer to the general principle as the basis for my remarks.

"No one will deny that the family has a perfect right to decide what persons shall be admitted within its doors, and what persons shall be excluded. In the same way a corporate body, such as the Unitarian Club, for instance, has a perfect right to determine what persons shall be eligible for membership, what shall be the limit of the number of members, and what persons shall be excluded. In a like manner, carrying the principle a little further, any civilized and independent nation has the absolute power to determine which race or peoples shall be allowed to dwell within her borders, and which shall be debarred that privilege. A government necessarily, therefore, is perfectly justified, whether from motives, the

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result of incompatability, from motives of safety or self-preservation, or from other sufficient and reasonable causes, to debar the people of any race, and the whole outside world, from landing on its shores, and living within its borders.

"Applying now this general principle to the exclusion of the Chinese, it is perfectly just and reasonable that if the whole race, or a part of them, are found to be, or even supposed on good grounds to be injurious to the people of the United States by the majority of the citizens, there is no earthly reason why they should be allowed to come to or remain in this country. It is the duty of the government to protect its own citizens against all the rest of the world. An act to enact that for good reasons the Chinese should be excluded would, itself, be perfectly in harmony with the doctrine and principles of justice and of international law; but, provided, of course, that the United States consent to the exclusion of its own people from going to China if the Chinese do not want them there. (Applause. The rule, to be just, you see, ought to work both ways.

"This brings us to the other side of the question, which is persistently overlooked by most of those who discuss the Geary Exclusion Act. If two independent nations entering into an agreement or treaty for mutual intercourse and good will, promise that their people shall be allowed to come and go as they please, take up their residence, and carry on commercial or other transactions, and each one in every way to act as good friends for mutual advantage, then as long as the treaty exists, one party is not at liberty to suddenly exclude the well disposed and law-abiding members of the other party from its boundaries; unless, of course, there has been an open rupture and war is declared and the treaty is suspended. Now, just such a treaty exists at the present time between the United States and China, as that which I have just described. And who wanted that treaty? Was it China? Did the Emperor of China write a letter to the President of the United States asking him to make such a treaty, allowing his subjects to come to America, to live there for their own commercial advantage, or for the proselyting of the Americans to the Confucian religion? (Laughter.) We all know that it was the other way around. It is impossible to read the letter addressed by President Tyler to the Emperor of China in 1843,

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asking for a treaty to be made, without wonder at the different spirit which has since come over some of the American people. That letter says: 'Our Minister, Caleb Cushing, is authorized to make a treaty to regulate trade. Let it be just. Let there be no unfair advantage on either side.' And so on.

"Now, let us take particular notice of these words, and then ask, 'is this the spirit of the Exclusion Act?' Our friends on the affirmative know that it is not; and we on the negative know it as well.

"A treaty having been subsequently made and ratified, and the United States having taken the fullest possible advantage of it, have sent our merchants and our missionaries by hundreds and thousands to China, claiming the fulfillment of every item to the very letter, enjoying every privilege to the fullest extent that the Chinese government could yield it, and exacting heavy penalties whenever treaty rights were broken through the temporary inability of the Chinese Government to prevent such irregularities; with a great and increasing and lucrative commerce established with China, which is becoming one of our best customers—was all the advantage intended to be thus on one side only? Was China alone to observe the treaty to its fullest extent on the one hand and the United States to ignore it when it did not suit its purposes on the other?

"What did President Tyler say? 'Let it be just. Let there be no unfair advantage on either side.' Was it right for one party to annul, or ignore or modify the treaty by establishing a law, without the consent of the other, or even without so much as officially informing the other, or going through the form of a consultation? Why we know that trouble, if not war, would have followed quickly if China had been the aggressor in this respect. Yet this is precisely what the United States did when the Exclusion Act was passed and carried into execution, and that without the knowledge or consent or sanction of the Government or of the Emporer of China. A more arbitrary proceeding, contrary to all the principles of international law, a more flagrant violation of a high national treaty, I say is not on record. (Applause.) We know that if such a thing had been done to any other nation, however small, war might have been the result. But China was weak and unable to prevent this Exclusion Act from being carried

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out against her people, and hence has had to suffer the indignity from a powerful and enlightened nation, whose main precept is 'Love thy neighbor as thyself' (Applause.), and whose missionaries were living and traveling in China at the very time that Act was carried, preaching the gospel of honesty and integrity, without hindrance or molestation. What a travesty, I say, of Christian civilization is this! And are we now to be asked to perpetuate this wrong-doing by re-enacting this Exclusion Act? 'Let it be just. Let there be no unfair advantage on either side.'

"But how came so many of the Chinese laboring class to land on these shores? We all know that they came, as the Consul has said quite recently, in answer to the call for laborers, chiefly to build the great railways that span this continent and of which we are now justly proud, and which tend greatly to the wealth and strength of the American nation. They came here quite as much, if not more, for the benefit of the mechanic, engineer, and others, than for their own benfit. Every means was used to induce them to come by the tens of thousands; and then, when this heavy work, which no one else would or could undertake, was finished, they scattered themselves over the country to find other employment. Were they to blame for this? Were their families and friends doing wrong in following them from China and doing a good, honest day's work for the best wages that American employers would pay them?

"And why, I would ask, is the charge true that they work for low wages, if it is not because of the cupidity of American employers, who take advantage of their poverty (Applause.), and will not pay any more? For years they came by invitation. The treaty allowed them to come in unlimited numbers, just as Americans went to China—although, in their case, probably, they were not invited, and still more, they were not wanted. (Laughter.)

"When once it was supposed that the presence of so many Chinese in America was injurious, and it was thought desirable to prevent any more from coming, the first thing that ought to have been done was for our President to lay the matter fairly and squarely before the Chinese Government, and to propose new arrangements or modifications of the treaty for discussion, or for acceptance; to propose, for in-

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stance. to limit the number of Chinese immigrants per annum for a certain number of years, during which immigration should be diminished or restricted, or a reasonable landing fee charged. All these would have been proposals perfectly in order, provided, of course, the Chinese Government was represented and perfectly free to refuse or to accept such modifications of the treaty. Chinese consent, once freely given, and the treaty modified accordingly, there could have been no complaint on the part of the Chinese laborer when not allowed to land, and America, as well as China, would have kept faith, as the Chinese call it. But such a straightforward and polite method of procedure was, perhaps, too slow and too troublesome; at any rate it did not suit the faction that rushed the Geary Act with such unseemly haste, I may call it, through Congress. What did they care about the treaty, the Chinese, or the rights of the Chinese people? The free operation of the law of supply and demand was not to be allowed in future to decide the number of Chinese who should come to America. No amount of reasoning has since sufficed to show that faction the wrongfulness of the Act. The near approach of the expiration of its present term has led to an enormous outcry against Chinese immigration that is now going on and clamoring for the re-enactment of that illegal experiment. The fact that it is contrary to an existing treaty and an arbitrary exercise of power over a weak nation is, I am willing to believe, perhaps unknown to a majority of its advocates, who are merely, I will say, tools in the hands of those who ought to know better. (Laughter and Applause.) there are none so blind as those who will not see. Therefore, for this reason, in the first place, I am entirely opposed to the re-enactment of the Exclusion Act as it now stands, unapproved by the Chinese Government.

"I could give you many more reasons, but will confine myself to a very important one, which is the injurious effect the re-enactment of this Act will be certain to have upon our rapidly growing commerce with China. To once more brand ourselves as treaty breakers, to stand before the whole civilized world as having lost self respect, and not to be depended on for the fulfillment of promises will certainly not help us in obtaining and retaining the respect and the good will of the Chinese nation, and especially of the merchants. Contracts

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and orders to supply large quantities of goods will undoubtedly pass away from us, as they are now doing, into other hands. This Exclusion Act is a very sore point, not only among the manufacturers, who are the principal supporters, but also among the other merchants and high officials all over the empire. It is a favorite theme with the Chinese newspapers, as you will find if you will read the local newspapers in Chinese. The Chinese student, merchant or traveler is indignant at the rough treatment received by his race on arrival at the Mail Dock, through the Exclusion Act, and even when his certificate is in proper order; and especially when he sees the low class of Japanese laborer walk quietly off the ship, without any detention or difficulty, like any other foreigner. The treatment of the laboring or servant class Chinese passengers in the Mail Dock detention sheds must be seen to be believed.

"As an instance of the high feeling of the high officials of the Chinese, let us hear what the late Li Hung Chang had to say in private conversation with Dr. Martin, the President of the University at Peking. The venerable doctor, in his work says: 'The only disagreeable feature in our meeting was, that the Chinese Exclusion bill having newly become law he was full of bitterness against my country, venting his wrath the more freely as he considered me somewhat in the light of a Chinese official. He dwelt on the subject at more length, because he desired me to act as a sort of an envoy to represent the feelings of his government to the President and people of the United States. It was not the act of exclusion, so much as the manner of it that roused his ire. Its passage in violation of a previous stipulation, was in bad faith. That this was done while a newly signed treaty was under consideration, in which China took the initiative by agreeing to try to stop immigration was offensive to say the least; while the fact that for political effect it was rushed through on the eve of election gave him a poor opinion of our form of government. He went on to say, 'What would you think if I should expel all of your missionaries?' 'I should think,' I replied, 'that you were turning your arms against your best friends. I should also say that you were violating a precept of Confucius, which forbids you to vent your displeasure on the unoffending.' He laughed and said, 'I have no intention of doing anything

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of this kind, and only spoke of it, as you know, for the sake of argument. The missionaries are good men, I know. But your code of morals is defective, as it seems to me, in one point, it lays too much stress on charity, and too little on justice.' In letting fly this Parthian arrow he meant that he would like a little less zeal for missions, and a little more respect for treaty compacts.' (Laughter and Applause.)

"I could repeat similiar conversations of my own with high Chinese officials and wealthy merchants and Chinese people, but I will only just refer to an instance which came under my own personal observation recently. The son of one of the oldest merchants in Shanghai was placed under my care last year to bring to California for education. Much to his disgust he was detained nearly two days on board the ship at the Mail Dock, although his papers were all in perfect order. When I returned from my vacation to China this year, he went to the Mail Dock to meet and welcome me. He became an object of suspicion, probably being supposed by the police to have escaped from the ship or from the detention shed. It was not until he found some one who could answer for him that he was allowed to enter at all. He declared afterwards that he would not live in such a country longer than he could help, and he now goes East with a view to finishing his education in England. He has written to China to advise all his friends, both mercantile and official, to have nothing more to do with America or Americans.

"I think the passing of the Exclusion Act to extend through another period of years would be nothing short of a commercial disaster. We have, in the Chinese opportunities, the very best for commercial development, and to shut our doors to them is merely to yield to the blind antagonism of the labor unions which, as you all know, are at the bottom of this anti-Chinese movement.

"What ,then, shall we ask, ought to be done? I answer, first, carefully examine into the facts of the case as to whether the exclusion of the Chinese is deemed desirable by the majority of the responsible and thinking part of the people of the United States, either absolutely or in a modified form; and, secondly, whatever conclusion we arrive at, let it be placed before the Chinese government for approval or for criticism. When a perfect understanding is arrived at on both sides it

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might not be a very difficult thing, after all, to get an entirely new act passed carrying the understanding into effect. No one could then complain. Whatever form of exclusion might be agreed upon, China would also endeavor to carry out, especially if all offenders were sent back to China for punishment. Let China be made responsible and manage the matter in her own way and of her own free will, and there will be very little cause for future complaint.

"But now comes a crucial question: is this Chinese immigration really injurious to the United States? Many and specious are the reasons that are adduced to show that it is. Some of these reasons that we have heard to-night have the ring of truth and honesty in them, but others are so short-sighted as to be unworthy of the serious attention of those having any pretense to a knowledge of the principles of political economy. They are simply bubbles that have been blown for a special purpose. Time will only allow me to prick just one or two of these bubbles. (Laughter.)

"In the first place, we are told that if we let down the barriers for the Chinese laborers to enter and flood the country they will pour in like the waters of a deluge, there being four hundred millions of people there. But when you come down to enquire where each of the Chinese that are already here come from, it is found that they are all from a small district near the city of Canton. No Chinese from other places could settle here, because they would have no foothold; they would have no friends. That particular locality has the monopoly here; and its representatives are already divided into two factions, as you know, the Sam Yups and the See Yups, but though continually engaged in contentions among themselves, they are united solidly against people from other places. The population of that small and chiefly agricultural district is not more than half a million at the very highest estimate. Reckoning that one out of every family of ten persons would be in a position to come to America, this would give fifty thousand that are eligible or likely to come, if they all came at once, that would be, say half as many again as are here already. But it is certain that but comparatively few of the eligible ones would come. Fancy California, one of the greatest and most powerful states in the Union, saying that she is afraid of being turned out of house and home, when it

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could only be by a mere handful of half-starved, uneducated but hardworking Chinese. We might as well be a little more consistent, and suppose that the whole forty million Mongolians should come, men women and children; and even then, are we not almost one hundred millions of good, strong American people, able to give a good account of ourselves. The fact is, we haven't half as much reason to fear the Chinese as we have to fear the Africans, the Irish or Germans, whom we not only freely admit in our borders, but give the privilege of citizenship.

"Another important fact in this connection is the great change, already alluded to by previous speakers, that has taken place in our relations with China since the Exclusion Act first passed; so that what was then regarded as a matter of necessity is now regarded as a matter of minor importance. With fifty thousand Chinese in California, the wages of the white laborers are now higher than in any other State in the Union, and they are likely to remain so. Add another fifty thousand of Chinese, if such a thing were possible, and the white laborer would still maintain this advantage simply because these Chinese would do new work and enable new resources to be developed that cannot now be developed here, because the white laborers will not do such work, or have so much work and receive such exorbitant wages that new industries which might add greatly to the wealth of the nation still have to remain untouched. Laborers willing to do good work for good wages that will leave sufficient profit for employers are called for all over the State. The two great needs of California in the development of agriculture and the industries are work and water. Water can be obtained by artificial means, if workmen enough can be obtained to put through the necessary great engineering and hydraulic plans. Chinese laborers are the only ones available for new undertakings. Ask the manufacturers, the orchardists, the canners, and the other employers about the Chinese, and hear what they would like in this connection. I have asked a good many of them, myself, and have never yet received one answer in favor of the Exclusion Act being continued, at any rate in its present form. And yet these are the people that form the backbone of the State.

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"The reason why Chinese laborers want to come to America, is undoubtedly because they are all so desperately poor at home, and want something to do that will keep themselves, as well as their wives and families from starving. They are great producers, and add greatly to the localities they live in, whether in America or in China. The majority are too ignorant to do anything but the roughest toil in China, and they cannot even get that to do there, so they have to come here. Give them education over there, help them to open up all the natural resources of their own country, dispel their ignorance and superstition and start them on the road and train them for civilization; let those of us who have the greatest fear of the yellow peril, as they call it, become the greatest contributors to our missionary enterprises, and help them out. (Laughter.) Send an invading army of missionaries to that part of China to check and prevent this invasion and prepare these people for our civilization; and then, instead of having too many Chinese coming to California to find work, you shall find the Chinese that are here soon going back to their native country and enjoying the comforts and privileges of life and home.

"In the second place there are those who compare the yellow peril in America with the difficulties that are staring us in the face in several of the States in the case of the negro. They argue that as the importation of the negro has been a most expensive experience for the United States, so it will be if the Chinese are allowed to enter in any great numbers. Four millions of negroes, they say, have already cost the United States two millions of lives and three thousand millions of money, and deep national humiliation. They have now increased to six or seven millions, and when they increase to fifty or one hundred millions, what may they then cost us? A race war has already set in, which may eventually deluge the whole land in blood, and why, then, add a yellow race difficulty which may prove even worse than that of the black?

"Now, we must remember that the two races are entirely different and their consideration must be on entirely different lines. The black one remembers that he was worked under the lash, and it was difficult to keep him from running away; the other works for the highest wages he can obtain, and can hardly be driven away. The one can be taught only with difficulty, although, as we know, there are many brilliant excep-

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tions; the other goes readily at it and will easily teach himself what is required in the way of work. One cost us five hundred dollars a man; the other cost nothing, and would even be willing to pay a landing fee for the privilege of being allowed to come. We all know that all efforts to improve races of low development and will never retrograde, but will gradually assimilate. The emancipated slaves of the United States, after all, have not, and never can have, as a whole, the development essential to inherited culture. But the Chinese have it, and can improve upon it as fast as opportunities come in their way. Yet these millions of low, ignorant, emancipated negroes have been given the privileges of the ballot since the cry was first raised in California to drive out the Chinese. Among Christian nations the Chinaman is hated for his virtues; he is not hated for his vices. It is because he is industrious, does not interfere between us, generally, is saving of his earnings, temperate, little given to extravagance, and of quiet demeanor that he is insulted and driven forth. Though a servant, he is not a slave. He indulges in no sentiment, and asks for no sympathy. Night work and day work are alike to him, and everywhere he makes himself equally at home. The great difficulty with the Chinaman—and it is a great difficulty—is the color of his skin. The Constitution of the United States allows the white and the black to inherit all things, but not the yellow, although the yellow may be the superior, physically, morally and intellectually.

"It is said that the Chinese hold themselves aloof, and will not mix with white people, nor confirm to their customs. We have heard that said this evening. Perhaps it may be in some respects, and in some cases that they have too much self respect. (Laughter.) America has much to fear from the negro race, both now and in the future, but from the Chinese she need fear nothing; we hear that the Chinese are incapable of assimilation into the body politic, strangers, as we heard tonight, to our civilization, out of sympathy with our aspirations, unfit for our free institutions, and unadapted in almost everything for citizenship. Then would it not be better for us, if all these things were true in regard to the refuse population of Europe and the negro race that we have absorbed into the very life blood of our nation, if we can get the Chinese to do our rough work for us, costing nothing, causing no

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trouble, creating no responsibilities—is it not better that we should encourage them to live with us, even as a separate race, and not curse, but rejoice, over their inability to assimilate with us? That inability to amalgamate with us is, perhaps, one of the best reasons why we should encourage them to come here.

"But I have already exceeded the time allotted, and therefore must not say more on this point. I will, therefore, conclude in some of the words of a letter of our Californian poet, Joaquin Miller, which were read in Congress when the Exclusion Act was under discussion. Among other things he wrote:

" 'Can the United States afford to fear these patient and simple people? They will not harm us; they are not strikers, rioters and burners of cities. This Bill must not become a law. It is pitiful to see these great minds, those who are supporting it, prostituted to such selfish ends. They pay a very poor compliment to the intelligence of the people of the Pacific Coast. No,' he goes on to say, 'the Creator of us all opened the Golden Gate to the whole wide world; let no man attempt to shut it in the face of his fellow-men.'

"How far Joaquin Miller was right I leave to you to judge for yourselves. And now I will say once more, if you must have the Exclusion Act, gentlemen, let it be just. Let there be no unfair advantage on either side." (Applause.)

After reading the scholarly and convincing address of Dr. Fryer, I now present the reader with the rough notes of a portion of a short address delivered by Dr. David Starr Jordan, President of the Leland Standford, Jr. University, on the same occasion.

Those who have read the works of Dr. Jordan will recognize in the brief remarks herewith printed the impartial and scientific investigator. For that reason his address, though brief, is of the greater value:

"Gentlemen of the Unitarian Club: I appear here tonight not as a debator, but as a disciple of the strenuous life. (Applause and Laughter.) I have resisted with all the strenuosity that I could possibly bring to bear the desire of your President that I should make an exhibition of myself on a subject on which the other gentlemen who have now spoken know so much more than I do. I have learned from experience that when a poker is red hot at both ends it is a difficult thing

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to handle (Laughter.), and if I should by any chance say anything that would appear to be on one side more than on the other you will understand of course that I regard the side for which I speak as the weaker side.

"I would not lay one single straw in the way of those of my friends—and there are a great many of them—who are trying to protect California from a real evil, that is the congestion within her borders of a race or particular people which if diffused throughout the United States would certainly not inflict any very great evil, but which if gathered in one American city or State will be very decidedly a nuisance.

"I do not myself see any industrial evil in the coming of the Chinese. I think that there are very extensive forms of industry that absolutely depend upon just that kind of labor. An industry has been spoken of tonight, that of canning salmon. I know something about that. I do not see how that great industry could get along with any other kind of labor than Chinese or something similar to that. I do not believe that any great number of people would permanently be driven out of work by it. I think the tendency would be on the whole rather the other way if we had larger numbers of Chinese here than we have now. I may be mistaken there. It is a very difficult subject. Statistics do not prove anything unless you have a great many of them and have studied them very thoroughly and have had them examined by somebody who is an expert. It does seem to me that there are social and political evils in the presence of an immense body of people who are not voters. I think we would find that if the Chinese were voters as the Irishman and the German and the Frenchman, the Englishman and the Italian, and those who come from other countries are, we should find that they would assimilate a great deal more rapidly than they do now. We should find that a great many of us would be entirely willing to assimilate with them. (Laughter.)

"It seems to me that, while Chinese labor may be of a good deal of advantage to us, California is not yet ready for the blessings of unlimited Chinese labor. I was in San Francisco twenty-one years ago. I was here when Denis Kearney and other gentlemen spoke on soap boxes. They were unassimilative gentlemen, with unassimilable names (laughter), and one

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thing was certain, that they never knew what had been in those boxes. (Great laughter.) I remember that in those days, very justly, under the wise lead of the Mayor of that time, Chinatown was condemned as an unsanitary abomination, just as it ought to have been condemned. We ought to be able to teach these people something of sanitation and to force them to abide by our lessons. But the influence of money, I suppose, of wealthy men, merchants in San Francisco, the influence of politics, and one thing and another, caused Chinatown to be simply condemned, and then to go along just as it was before (laughter), and things have gone on in that way to this day. I do not believe that the City of San Francisco ought to allow any people, Chinamen, Italians, Greeks,—any kind of people—to crowd together in the fashion in which the people live in Chinatown. I do not believe that the Chinese are any more to blame for that than we are; it does not, at least, appear to me so. I have read in the newspapers of the operations of the Boxers in China, and I have seen just such operations myself twenty-one years ago in San Francisco on the part of our California Boxers. It is just the same thing one way or the other, and it is just as much the duty of one government to keep the one sort of irregularity down as it is the duty of the other. Nations must give and take.

"I am not sure what we ought to do. I am not sure that the wisest thing is not to act along the line and spirit of the Geary Act until we can see our way to something better. I am not ready to take sides on that question. I do feel with Dr. Fryer, who so eloquently says that the Geary Act was not carried out in the way in which it ought to have been carried out. It was not carried out as though China were a nation it was the treatment of China as though she were not a nation at all.

"Some things have happened in these years, and one thing is the decision in regard to the future that we have made. Decisions are made lasting a long time, and it is the part of statesmanship to recognize these decisions when they are made and to adjust our affairs to a great extent with them. I was not myself riding on the bandwagon when the decision was made, but it was to the general effect that two things must go. the Exclusion Act and the Protective Tariff. And when we

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decided to extend our sovereignty as well as our jurisdiction over the Philippine Islands it was the death-knell of the Protective Tariff, it was the death-knell of all Exclusion Acts of any kind except as they may apply, as Mr. Geary has so eloquently suggested, as they may apply to all nations alike. It means that they must go absolutely; that we must treat the nations of the Orient exactly as we treat the nations of Europe, whatever that way may be. (Applause.)

"It has been said tonight that there is a great deal of sensitiveness on this subject. I remember a gentleman in Japan saying to me, or rather writing that certain nations, imitating the United States, have closed their doors in the face of China in an insulting way. That is just about the feeling not only that China has, but that all the nations over there have. I was told by a high official in Japan that the Japanese Government would be ready to do anything that we might ask in a dignified and quiet way in regard to the keeping from America of Japanese laborers; if there is any class that we do not want in America just mention it quietly and privately and that class will be kept at home. I was told at the same time that Japan would be prepared to fight to the death any attempt to enforce against her without her consent a law like that with which we have insulted China. We have to face the fact that our commerce in the Orient goes to the winds if we attempt to insult the nation of Japan by extending this act to her. There is not quite as good reason, but very nearly the same reason, for excluding Japanese laborers that there is for excluding Chinese, but we dare not exclude Japanese laborers unless we exclude the laborers of Europe also, for the reason that Japan is a nation, and we excluded Chinese because China is not a nation and cannot help herself. China is a nation in the sense of being able to govern herself, but she had no foreign policy, she did not know that there were any foreign countries. It was generally believed, I suppose, in China that all those other countries were simply rocky islands, and that China was the whole world herself. And that she did not need to have a foreign policy in regard to those rocky islands. But when China becomes a nation she will have to be treated just as we treat Germany, England, Italy, France and other nations. It is for our interest commercially and industrially that China should become a nation,

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that she could get control of her affairs and be responsible for her own actions. China is not a yellow peril, or will not be when the people have training, when they have our science, when they can take care of themselves at home, when they can control their own affairs, when China can become a self-respecting nation made up of people who can respect themselves and take care of themselves. She is a yellow peril when she is overrun and when her property is stolen by European nations; when her people are murdered wantonly just for the simple purpose of showing that European firearms are more effective than Chinese firearms. When that sort of thing comes China will be a yellow peril. Just so long as superstition reigns there in place of science the yellow peril condition will exist. They have in Singapore a poet, a sort of Rudyard Kipling, turned loose, and he has used these words of the Chinaman: 'Give him the chance to do at home that he makes for himself elsewhere, and the star of the jelly-fish nation with others will shine as far.'" (Applause.)

The statement of Mr. Erastus Brainerd of Seattle, presented to the 57th Congress in 1902, contains a convincing argument to any but the most prejudiced minds. He says in part:

"The essential argument of those who favor Chinese exclusion is fairly well stated in a communication from the San Francisco Democratic Board of Supervisors. They say: 'Should the bars be let down an enormous immigration of Chinese coolies would inundate the country and overwhelm its free working population.'

"This is familiar. So it was argued by the Denis Kearneys and the Phelans of Roman politics; yet Italy is peopled today with men of Latin, not Teutonic, stock, and the influence of Roman civilization is more clearly among the Germans than *vice versa*. In the middle ages the Huns 'threatened' all Europe. Yet today the Huns seem to be pretty well confined to their natice Carpathians or the Pennsylvania coal fields. It is fresh within our knowledge that the agitation for the restriction of the flood of Irish immigration lead to Know-Knothings and signs of 'No Irish need apply'. But it is unnecessary to multiply precedent. The argument merely begs the question. It states as the truth something not known to be either true or false.

"How does any one—how can any one—know to a moderate

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probability, not to say a reasonable certainty, that failure to re-enact the Geary law will 'inundate' or 'overwhelm' us with Chinese? If there were no such law it is not certain that we would be 'inundated', and if the Geary law be not re-enacted another law can be, if necessary. No law was ever known to be the best, the perfect law. The Geary law is one of the worst.

"The Chinese have free access to the rest of the world, but have not inundated it. They have been specially invited to Mexico, but they have not overwhelmed the descendants of the Montezumas. It is said, of course, that the wages of labor and conditions of life are less alluring elsewhere to the Chinese; that this country is nearer and all that makes life more desirable to a Chinaman is found here to a greater degree than elsewhere. Be it so. When the United States was open to them they did not inundate or overwhelm the Pacific Coast.

"With this country closed hermetically, as it has been in theory for twenty years past, it is equally true and equally logical to assume that the Chinese would overwhelm the next best country. Wages and the conditions of labor in Mexico, in Canada, in most of the other countries bordering on the Pacific side of the American continent, are so much higher than those of China, that it seems reasonable to assume that the Chinese would inundate and overwhelm those countries, but they have not. Now it happens to be true that the countries to which the Chinese have gone in the greatest numbers are those in which wages and living are at nearly as low a standard as in China itself, in Borneo, in the Philippines, in Java, in the Dutch and English oriental colonies. If the Chinese is an exterminating race, if it is to drown out and submerge working people, one would think that it would long since have overwhelmed the Malay.

"China has had a colony in Borneo since 1100 B. C.,—for three thousand years—and the Malay still thrives. Thus far, and in other nations, they do not seem to have overwhelmed and inundated the people among whom they have gone. whether those people were free or servile. The Chinese have no artisans skilled as ours are, none like our iron and steel workers, machinists, carpenters, bricklayers, masons, and the like. With us those trades are so highly organized that they already practically dictate on what terms a white man shall

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labor. Surely they are not afraid that they cannot dictate to the yellow man. Is it likely that the labor unions would yield control of their industries to the Chinaman? An affirmative answer would be a shocking confession of weakness that no union man is likely to make. The 'danger' is more to unskilled labor, to the Indians who come from Alaska to pick hops, to the field-hand, the ditch-digger, the road-builder,—a class of labor much needed on this coast, and in which there should be room for some Chinese.

"'Non-assimilation' is one of the favorite arguments against the Chinese. We have never given him a fair chance to assimilate. Since he first came to California, in 1848, he has been a 'damned chink', worse than the 'greaser', the 'dago', or the 'coon', for all of whom the free and intelligent workingman seems to have especial contempt. We have never welcomed the Chinaman as we have the Arab, the Syrian, the Lapp, the Parsee, the Hun, or the Hindoo, all of whom are oriental by race and instinct and who are just as little likely to 'assimilate' as the Chinaman. Yet they are welcomed here by thousands annually. It is not yet denied, I believe, that the Chinaman is a man—that he is human. In fact, he is the most domestic of men. Domesticity is inborn and inbred in the humblest coolie. The family and its integrity is the object of his worship. The Chinaman who has no son is one accursed. It is not true that the coolie does not marry. Any visitor to China knows better.

"So long as Czolgosz can attain citizenship, I maintain that a Chinaman who can attain it on the same footing would 'assimilate' better than a Czolgosz—nay, more, that the average Chinaman is a more desirable addition to our population than the average Czech, Slovak, Wend or Levantine who come here by thousands. I am inclined to think that even the able walking delegate of the San Francisco Stevedores' Union would admit that he could not expect successfully to maintain that the thesis that the wise and witty Wu is not worthy of the franchise in any country. What applies to the Wus applies, *mutatis mutandis,* to any of his countrymen.

"The vulgar argument that the Chinaman is dirty, immoral, clannish and what not, is worth little consideration. The standard of the coolie is at least as high as that of the 'cadet' of New York. He is as cleanly as the Hun. He has

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his share and no more of human weakness and frailty, of the sin of Adam and the brand of Cain. Even the honest advocates of Chinese exclusion, who base their opposition on glittering generalities, make honorable exceptions of individuals, and it is the individual who makes the race.

"The Burlingame treaty conferred upon China's citizens the right of voluntary emigration to the United States and *vice versa*. Out of 400,000,000 Chinese barely 100,000 came. When the San Francisco 'Sand Lotters' began their agitation that the 'Chinese must go', which led to political complications on the Pacific Coast, the United States sought to abrogate the Burlingame treaty and conclude a new one. At that time the Chinese treaty commissioners voluntarily proposed that the Government of the United States should regulate, limit or suspend the coming of Chinese laborers or their residence herein, but that it should not absolutely prohibit them. The treaty was signed.

"In ethics, in morals, the anti-Chinese do not have a leg to stand on. If the argument is to be made to the pocket, surely the material argument is against the Geary law.

" 'Treat the Chinese,' once said Hannibal Hamlin, Lincoln's Vice-President, 'I will not say like pagans, because Confucious would shame us if we go to his counsel — treat them like Christians and they will become good American citizens.'

"It may not yet prove desirable to make citizens out of all the Chinese coolies, but I take it that no sensible man will deny the ability of the United States to negotiate a new treaty or to make a new law which will remove the existing stigma from the Chinaman and put him on the same footing as other Orientals if he wants to stop there and shows the ability to keep his footing, yet at the same time controlling, limiting and regulating any possible 'danger' from admitting him.

"I have intentionally omitted reference to the real need of more labor on this coast, Chinese or other. I imagine that the conservative elements will soon make themselves heard on that point.

"What the cure of the Geary law may be is beyond my province to suggest. Take the question from the field of political logrolling. Put it on the higher, cleaner, cooler field of diplomacy, of statesmanship. I confidently believe that all

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the opposing and varying interests of the Pacific Coast will not suffer if the matter is placed in the hands of the State Department.

"'*Autres temps, autres moeurs,*' says the French proverb. There are other times on the Pacific Coast than those which led to the Chinese riots of the eighties. Let us have another rule for our relations with China. For instance, the *Golden Rule.*'

"ERASTUS BRAINERD."

"Seattle, January 30, 1902."

Taken from Senate Report 7766, part 2; 57th Congress, 1st Session.

And for that reason it gives me much pleasure to lay before the reader the statement of Simon Wolfe (Chairman of the Committee on Civil and Religious Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations), which was made before the 57th Congress in 1902.

Mr. Wolf's paper is well worthy of study, and mitigates to a great degree the unfriendly attitude of his persecuting co-religionists. The following is a part of Mr. Wolf's paper:

"The names of Gompers, Gutstadt, Golden, Wolfe, Saalfeld and others indicates that those who hear them should remember the story of the 'Ghetto.' And that the time is not so remote when their co-religionists, or compatriots, were appealing to the civilized world for smypathy and justice. It is utterly repugnant to me to see a Hebrew or Hibernian in the ranks of those who persecute and proscribe any people.

"Even the casual reader cannot fail to notice that the personnel of the persecutors of the Chinese in this country has entirely changed. The men who now ask that their fellowmen of 'tawny' skin be denied the right of access to this country are mostly Jews and Scandinavians. Of course, there may be a McCarthy here and there, for the reason that I have explained elsewhere. But a glance at the names of the new leaders of exclusionist will show their racial origin—if that be the correct term in the premises.

"I wish to state that I have had as my personal guest for years one who for eleven years represented our country in China and Japan, a Major-General of the United States Army, General Julius Stahel, and he has told me time and again that

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the conditions which have been painted by the friends of China before this committee are absolutely correct; that the relations between parents and children are of the most beautiful sort; that the young have the highest respect for the aged; that the integrity of every merchant in that country, even among European financial institutions, is beyond question.

"They are human like the rest. The Caucasian has no mortgage on the vices. The Asiatics have them as well as ourselves; and if they are misunderstood and persecuted they are to a large extent persecuted and misunderstood as my ancestors were in the Middle Ages. For Buckle, the great English historian, has said that the Jews were not persecuted on account of their vices, but on account of their virtues. They, also, like the Chinese, were and are, sober, industrious, frugal, peace-loving and law-abiding. They also loved their children and showed filial respect to their parents; and yet they were persecuted. And I, standing here as, in a measure the representative of my people, standing here as an American citizen of Jewish faith, will not let this opportunity pass without entering my solemn protest against any exclusion laws aimed at any race, nationality or religion. I have seen the time, and it is not quite extinct yet, when the colored men suffered from invidious legislation.

"I have seen the time when the Know-Nothing orgies raged throughout our country, and the Irish and Catholics were tabooed. And I will not, in the closing hours of my existence, see a condition of things on the part of the United States that sends missionaries to China and thinks the Chinese fit to be Christianized, if when they are given a proper chance in this country they could become civilized and assimilated.

"The charge has been made here that they would be all-controlling. What a magnificent compliment that is to American manhood and American energy! Look at Hongkong and Singapore. There you have 200,000 Chinamen in each city and in one city about 4,000 Englishmen and in the other 3,000 Englishmen, and these two cities to-day are as much English as any city in England itself. It is the energy, the intelligence, the indomitable perseverence of the Caucasians that tells every time.

"And if you treat the Chinaman with the same regard, the

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same respect, with the same fairness and justice with which you expect them to treat us in their own country, there can be no question of settling this exclusion business on the line of common sense, of international treaties, and pave the way for the greatest commercial, financial and industrial results the United States has ever had.

"There is in my judgment no reason or necessity for any special legislation in the matter of the Chinese that could not be included in a general immigration bill. The Italians, the Lithuanians, the Austrians, the Germans, the French, the English, the Japanese, the Borneans, the Persians, and every nationality and race in the world, are included in the general immigration law, save and except the Chinese, and for no possible reason except for the hue and cry caused by an utter ignorance of the facts and entire disregard for the honor and integrity of the nation's plighted faith in its treaties. No man, loving his country, is anxious for the gates to be thrown wide open to any class of immigrants. No one who has studied the history of nations can be in favor of wholesale coolie labor. There is a golden middle which must at all times be observed. We do need in this country a certain percentage of Chinese immigration. The South needs the agriculturists, such as the Chinese have ever been. The whole country needs domestic help. In every city of the country, as has been well said by writers of national reputation, there are springing up more and more apartment houses, and American homes, with all their glorious traditions, are disappearing faster and faster, owing to the lack and scarcity of domestic help. * * *

"Why not invite Chinese labor to a certain extent and organize it and form unions among them? I am sure they will be as ready and adaptable as any that now exist in the organization, and will be only too anxious and ready to accept higher wages when the opportunity is given to them. At the same time let the laws confer the highest boon of American citizenship upon the Chinese who are disposed to be naturalized, and thus give them the same chance of protection that the other laboring men of the country so worthily and justly enjoy.

"It has been asserted that the Chinese do not assimilate. How could you expect it with the treatment they have received since their first advent into this country? The cry, 'a

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damn Chink' is enough to create a mob and the victims of brutality and persecution and inhumanity, in the name of Christianity, that have been practiced upon the Chinese in this country cry aloud to Heaven; and, as Lincoln said, 'Every drop of blood that was drawn by the lash had to be atoned for by the sword,' so the time will come when the hardships practiced upon the inoffensive, plodding, industrious and sober Chinese will come home to plague the inventors.

"In the Philipipnes and in Hawaii the Chinese are an absolute necessity, and are a thousand times to be preferred to many of the rebellious natives.

To show the utter untrustworthiness of the statements and the statistics upon which the present anti-Asiatic crusaders base their arguments, it will only be necessary to cite what they have said in relation to a single industry—that of the shoe trade.

The selection of shoemaking as an industry that has been absorbed by the Asiatics is certainly unfortunate for the exclusionists, as it can be proved conclusively that when the greatest number of Asiatics were engaged in the manufacture of boots and shoes in this city, there were also the greatest number of white men employed in the same industry. And more than that, the wages of the white shoemaker was greater than it is to-day, from every point of view.

The reader whose sympathies are aroused by the terrible sufferings of the poor shoemakers who have been "driven to the wall" by the wily Asiatic, should be put in possession of the real facts of the case. In the first place, there are not 300 Chinese shoemakers making American style shoes in this whole city. And after 35 years of experience, they have been unable to maintain a single factory capable of turning out a first-class shoe. And it is safe to say that there is not a first-class Chinese shoemaker—American style—on the Coast.

The expert shoemaker will know what I say is true when I say that the few Chinamen who are engaged in the business are making a cheap quality of slipper and a cheap quality of channel nailed shoes, doing all of the work, except fitting the uppers, by hand. There is not a single Goodyear welt machine used by any Chinaman in this city, or in possession of any Chinese factory.

Time does not permit me to give an analysis of the boot and

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shoe industry. In a former part of this statement I have referred to it in relation to the Crispin agitation of 1871. Some of the statements that I made may be challenged. Especially those which relate to the degree of skill that was necessary to engage in modern shoemaking. There is a vast difference between the skill of the shoemaker of fifty years ago and the dexterity of the shoe operative of to-day. So I will introduce a page of testimony given before the State Labor Commissioner on that question.

SHOE INVESTIGATION.

Mr. G. K. Porter said that "Chinese firms were already going to the wall" because of Eastern competition.

Mr. Hecht made and sold shoes here as cheaply as they can be sold in New York or Boston. Mr. Hecht said he sold Chinese goods in this city in opposition to Eastern-made goods at no profit, merely to bolster up San Francisco. He thought we should not look to the white men of the East, but should keep our eyes on our own commercial interests.

Mr. Hecht presented the argument that if the manufacturers were compelled to discharge their Chinese it would also necessitate the discharge of white men, as it would reduce the volume of the business.

Mr. Altmeyer said if he discharged the Chinese he would have to discharge a number of white people also. He does not believe any manufacturer was philanthropist enough to lose money by discharging his Chinese, and the public would not patronize white labor, and as a result the trade would be driven to the Eastern market. He favored a tariff against Eastern goods, heavy freight on railroads, and no taxation for manufacturers.

Richard Pahle thought manufacturers could make as good a shoe about as cheap with white labor as now made by Chinese, if they only tried to do so, but they all thought what seemed to be the easiest way was the best.

Mr. J. F. Broderick said if the white manufacturers would sacrifice a little of their profit and make a cheap quality of shoes with white labor, he thought the Chinese could be successfully coped with.

P. F. Nolan said boys could be taught in three months to made as good work as Chinamen.

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P. F. Nolan continued and said that when the supply of young workers became great enough, manufacturers here could compete with Eastern cheap goods. Mr. P. F. Nolan further said that a young man in a month could get to make as good a shoe as a Chinaman, and there would be but twenty-two cents a pair diffeernce in cost between white and Chinese goods, which he thought the average customer would cheerfully pay.

M. D. Nolan, retail dealer, said that shoes could be made by white boys and girls at a price not greater than a bit a pair more than paid to Chinese, if not just as cheap by skilled workmen, for about twenty-five cents advance on Chinese price; that boys and girls could be taught in three months to make as good a shoe as the Chinese now make; that 5,000 could be given employment here, and this would shut out much of the Eastern trade.

M. D. Nolan showed two qualities of slippers, one of Chinese, the other of white make. The difference in price was but fifty cents per dozen in favor of the Chinese, while the white slipper was twice as well made, and the shoemakers present considered it as good as two of the Chinese make.

Chester Williams testified that the Chinese manufacturing was falling off, owing to Eastern competition.

Louis Muir said that Chinese use fictitious stamp at the white manufacturers' request.

The foregoing extracts from the boot and shoe investigation proves that what I said in relation to the skill of the white shoe operative of this city thirty years ago was supported by the testimony of the disinterested shoe manufacturers of this city.

In my pamphlet, "Reasons for Non-Exclusion," etc., I have examined and printed the statistics in relation to boot and shoe making—and some other industries—of this city from the fiscal year of 1887-88 up to 1901, which is practically up to to-day, for the relative number of employes engaged in shoemaking has not changed in four years. A suspicious fact in itself. These statistics are herewith reprinted.

On page 35, the San Francisco memorialists recount their grievances as follows: "They (the Chinese) have invaded the cigar, shoe, broom, chemical, clothing, fruit-canning, match-making, woolen-manufacturing industries, and have displaced

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more than 4,000 white men in these several employments in the city of San Francisco." I take it that the whole value of this memorial and pamphlet rests upon the truthfulness of this statement.

Let us examine the facts. To start with, we will give the conditions of the industries which are alleged to have been invaded by the Chinese, as reported by the assessor at the end of the fiscal year 1890-91. By starting at this date, we have ten years of the working of the Geary Act for purpose of comparison; and as that was the year immediately prior to the passage of the exclusion law, the people East of the Rocky Mountains will see what necessity there was for such a drastic ukase, and how the industries mentioned fared under the relief from the supposed pressure of Chinese competition. The memorialists admit that 30,000 Chinese left the State in the past twenty years.

Mr. Gompers says that "the pro-Chinese element in this country depends, in a large measure, upon the general ignorance that prevails east of the Rocky Mountains as to the merits or demerits" of exclusion. There is, no doubt, much truth in what Mr. Gompers says, and to remove this deplorable ignorance I offer a few statistics from the reports of the assessor of the city and county of San Francisco for the ten years ending June 30, 1901.

In 1890-91, there were 10,175 skilled workers employed in the industries named in the memorial. Of these 3,900 were Chinese. The value of the output was $18,541,000. At the end of the fiscal year 1900-01, the number of toilers employed in said industries was 6,705. Of these, 1,820 were Chinese, and the output was valued at $11,595,000. Thus, instead of regaining the 4,000 white toilers that are alleged to have been displaced, we have lost 3,470 skilled workers in the last ten years, 2,180 of whom were Chinese, and we have fallen behind in the value of the output of these industries more than $6,000,000.

How long will it be, with this kind of progress, before the industries alleged to have been invaded by the Chinese will give employment to 4,000 more white people than are now engaged in them? Let the memorialists explain this phase of our manufacturing prosperity under the Geary Act.

A few more extracts from the asessor's reports, where these

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facts are found, may not be amiss by way of illustration, and for the enlightenment of the ignorant pro-Chinese citizens who live east of the Rocky Mountains.

In the fiscal year 1887-88, there were 3,200 people employed in the boot, shoe and slipper industry in San Francisco, 2,000 of them being Chinese, and the output was valued at $6,000,000. To-day—1901—we have 950 people employed in the same business, 250 being Chinese, and the annual output has fallen to $2,350,000. In 1887-88, there were 4,500 people employed in the cigar business, 500 of them being white workmen, and the output was valued at $7,000,000. To-day—1901—we have 1,300 people employed in the same business, the number of white toilers remaining the same—500—but the annual output has diminished to $2,000,000. In 1890-91, there were 2,800 people employed in the clothing business, and the annual output was valued at $6,500,000. To-day, the clothing industry is reduced to the employment of 1,050 people, 250 of them being Chinese, and the value of the output is reduced to $1,500,000. In 1884-85, there were two woolen mills in San Francisco, and there were 1,500 people employed in them, with an output valued at $1,900,000. To-day, there is one woolen mill in the city, and there are 145 people employed, 20 of them being Chinese, and the output is reduced to $350,000. Thirty years ago the blankets made in our California woolen mills had an international reputation, and were probably the best in the world.

No, Mr. Gompers; it is not the cause which you allege in "Meat vs. Rice" that is a menace to the white toilers of this city. The evil is much broader and deeper, and it prevails wherever access to the land is restricted by antiquated laws, and wherever the state prevents the free exchange of the product of man's labor, which it does by allowing monopolies in the medium of exchange and in facilities for transportation. The municipal reports of this city are sometimes instructive reading. They should have been studied by the memorialists before they spread their wail before the world. I will cite three more items; then Mr. Gompers may take the case.

In 1890-91 there were 52 tanneries and wool-pulling establishments in San Francisco. They employed 1,030 people, and the output was valued at $3,195,000. To-day, the number of tanneries is reduced to 25, the number of men employed has

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fallen to 330, and the product has dwindled to $1,460,000. The foundry business flourished here from the beginning of our municipal history. In 1888-89, there were forty foundries in this city, and they gave employment to 4,375 men and boys, the output being 7,000,000. To-day, after twelve years of growth in population, and the immense demand for machinery in Alaska and the farther north—the extraordinary demand for men and material to repair and fit out our colonial transports—the foundries and machine-shops combined employ only 5,500 people, and the output is placed at $7,500,000. In 1891, the furniture industry gave employment to 950 men, with an output valued at $1,530,000. In 1895-96, the same industry dwindled down to 100 men, and the output was valued at $100,000. After 1895-96, the furniture industry does not appear upon the assessor's reports. Here we have three staple industries in which Chinese are not employed; one of them has gone out of existence, another has stood still, and the taners' annual output has been reduced more than one-half.

The memorialists were not interested in making these facts public, because in order to explain them they would have been obliged to go outside the Chinese question. They had no desire, and were not prepared, to discuss the equitable compensation of labor. It will be seen that San Francisco has fallen behind in the number of men employed, both in those industries where Chinese compete and in those where there is no such competition.

Not only has the output decreased in the eight industries selected by the memorialists as examples of the effect of Chinese competition, but wages have fallen; and employment is uncertain in at least one of these industries—boot and shoe making. Nine dollars per week is considered fair wages for the few operatives that yet remain in our shoe factories.

With our increase of 14.51 per cent in population in the last decade, we should have now nearly 12,000 skilled laborers employed in the eight industries mentioned by the memorialists; instead of which we have only 6,705 people of all colors engaged in those industries. According to the same rate of increase, the value of the output from the same industries should have been more than $20,000,000, instead of being but little more than half this sum. Thus we are driven to the

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conclusion that the industries mentioned by the memorialists as being invaded by the Chinese have fallen behind in the last ten years—when compared with the rate of increase in population—nearly one-half. Is this a coincidence? or is it cause and effect?

The memorialists have made an *ex parte* statement to influence votes, and it is presumable that they know that the backward state of the industries mentioned is not due to Chinese competition, and that it cannot be remedied by an exclusion act. Many of them freely admit that if the 45,000 Chinese who are in this state were to be deported to-morrow, there would be a panic in our industrial life, and misery in many of our homes, yet the rise of the wage rate would be hardly perceptible.

To-day the Chinese laborer is as much a factor in the labor market of the world when he is employed in China as he would be if he were employed in Connecticut. The whole world is now an open market. The manufacturing syndicates of this country can, through the control of subsidized and protected industries, force their way into and demoralize any market in the world. It makes no material difference to the great employers of labor whether the few thousands of Chinese work here or in China. Their control of the mechanism of exchange gives them a profit on the labor of the Chinese, as well as on the labor of the Caucasian wage-worker, no matter where either may be situated. It would disappoint me very much to see the American Federation of Employers make any serious effort to retard the passage of the exclusion act. The laborers who are the favorites of our modern labor lords are the healthy young natives of the British Islands, or their descendants; or the graduates of our American common schools, who have been taught that the American is the greatest man on God's footstool, and who are willing to prove it by working their young lives out for their employers, as if the whole furnishing of the earth must be done during their working lifetime. These are the men who have given character to American labor, and extraordinary profit to American capital. The same spirit was characteristic of the British laborer at one time, and Mr. Brassey, an English labor lord, speaks of it very intelligently in comparing the British "navy" with the French laborer. This immolating characteristic is peculiar to the British and

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American toiler, and is not a trait of the Chinese worker, except upon extraordinary occasions. The American employer has found out this fact, and he does not employ Chinese labor, steady, plodding qualities are required. It is very doubtful whether Chinese labor is much cheaper than American labor, taking all the factors into consideration.

When an American contractor has two days' work that he wants done in one day's time, he does not hunt a Chinaman for the job. The Chinese who are now employed on this Coast are not employed so much in large bodies as they formerly were. They are mostly employed by people who are struggling to establish and maintain an independent industry. The Chinaman offers to the independent producer the last chance to live, and keep from being an appendage to a trust or to one of its tentacles. In a word, the Chinaman is the only working-machine that cannot be wholly controlled by the American Federation of Employers, and to disturb the relations that now exist, or even to prevent the small producer from access to this source of help, would be to hinder social and material progress on this Coast.

If the conditions obtained to-day that existed in pioneer times, there would be no hue and cry against the Chinese. Not a word from the convention about restoring those conditions.

For the culture that prevails in the state of California we are largely indebted to the patient but despised Asiatics. They have done our drudgery from the beginning without complaint. They have built our railroads, drained our swamps, planted our fruit trees, and gathered our harvests. They have done everything that faithful servants could do to secure our comfort and welfare, and now, because we are unequal to the task of making laws which will equitably distribute the wealth that we produce, we want to close our gates against the people who have done so much to make us one of the "grandest states of the Union." It reminds one of the ostrich sticking his head in the sand, waiting until the storm blows over. The indications are that our storm will not blow over until the laborer gets an equitable share of his product. We are up against the Sphinx, and exclusion is no answer to the riddle.

The following letter from Judge R. F. Peckham, President

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of the San Jose Woolen Mill, contains very pertinent points and practical suggestions, and is now reprinted for the way it explains the woolen industry:

"SAN JOSE, March 2, 1890.

"HON. J. J. TOBIN, Commissioner if the Bureau of Labor.

"DEAR SIR: I have been much interested in newspaper accounts of your report on the woolen industry of California. Will you please, if you have it printed, or when it is printed, send me a copy? It is, as reported in the journals, in the main correct. The high rates of money, labor, fuel, taxes, insurance, to which might be added rents; the limited market, and the most expensive way of disposing of manufactured products, are the bane of not only the woolen, but mostly every class of manufacturing industry in California; and so far as the woolen industry is concerned, the fact that San Francisco is made the dumping ground of the United States of America, is the most fatal. The tariff has nothing to do with it. We cannot reach Mexico, or British Columbia, or any other foreign market, unless we sell as cheap as any other nation. This means competition with the whole world—with as cheap money, as cheap labor, as cheap products of labor, as any other country. I find no one prepared for this. California has naturally the wealth of an empire, but its perfect development depends upon one or the other of two things. It is either getting down in our ideas of value to the balance of the United States of America, or in educating ourselves to the fact that to sustain our higher values, we must stand together or patronize each other, consume the products of our own laboring classes, and purchase nothing else where that can be purchased at home, because it is offered cheaper than we can produce it. It is draining the state of our circulating medium to pay for things we could produce at home at a trifling more cost. So long as we continue to purchase of those who can produce cheaper than we can, our labor must go unemployed, and even run the risk of bringing upon us a financial panic and general bankruptcy. When this comes away will go all our better values, both in rent, trade and prosperity, below the average American standard, and it will find our industries unable to give employment to all those that will be compelled to labor for the means of support.

But little can be done by legislation. But we have the

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power and should enact laws to prohibit any state institution or institutions—including counties and cities—supported in part by the state, from buying anything in the way of supplies that can be produced in California. The money of the state should not go to the discouragement of our own industry. In building up her woolen manufactures, enacted laws requiring that her dead should be buried in woolen clothing. Beyond this nothing can be done except in our individual capacities. As long as we look for merchandise which has been dumped on our market by Eastern overloaded manufactories, Eastern bankrupt market-merchants, to supply our wants simply because we can get them below the cost of production, and that where money, fuel, labor, taxes and insurance are much cheaper than here, so long are we at war with ourselves, and our industries must go down and our labor go unemployed.

Let the reform commence with our labor unions and confederated trades. When they want any of the necessaries or the conveniences of life, resolve that they will buy nothing which is not produced in their own state, if what they want so produced can be so made, and act upon this resolution, and our industries seeking to expand and give employment to labor will soon find that they are getting upon a more healthy basis. Capital will have more confidence and will not be so fearful of going into adventures depending upon the employment of the laboring people. If the confederated trades could unite in the establishment and support of a journal devoted to the support and consumption of the products of California labor, as well as the value of the labor itself, it would be a long step in the right direction. How can the value of labor be maintained when we will not even try to support the value of its own products? How can we expect to receive good interest and good wares when we, in purchasing the products of other men, pay extra for prices which would starve even a Chinaman in their production?

"Will they ever do it? It is extremely doubtful.

"R. F. PECKHAM."

How another California industry has been ruined by other causes than "Chinese cheap labor." I submit the following excerpt from the "Broom Maker," the official journal of the

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International Broom and Brush Makers Union, of November 1904. It tells the story:

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 5, '04.

Mr. O. A. Brower,

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:—As I have not written anything for the Journal for some time, I thought it best to acquaint our eastern locals with the general conditions of the broom business in this, the metropolis of the West. While the broom business has been dull here for about eight months of the present year, it has improved a great deal within the past six or eight weeks, but it is not what it should be. Just think of a city with a population of 350,000, and its great export trade, only employing 18 white broom makers, while to the writer's best knowledge there are at the present time in this city 12 broom makers, including tyers and sewers, not working at the trade, some of them being out of the business for two years. Most of these men are first-class workmen and would like to work at the business, could they secure employment.

Local No. 58 would get along a great deal better if they could secure the hearty co-operation of the manufacturers, but they do not seem to realize that what is good for the broom makers is good for their employers. They just antagonize the union and its members in every possible way. This does them no good from a business standpoint, and keeps the union from progressing as it should.

The white manufacturers have decreased their business in the city, and so also have the Chinese manufacturers. Formerly there were five Chinese shops and three white manufacturers, but now we have three Chinese and two white shops. This goes to show that the broom business on the coast is fast falling into the hands of the Eastern manufacturers, as they dump their goods on the market at most any price. Eastern broom corn seems to be a scarce article on the coast at the present writing, and the new California crop is badly damaged owing to excessive rain that occurred during the time of harvesting the crop.

Respectfully yours,

PRESS SECRETARY, No. 58.

The absurdities which our Government has enacted into statute and decided to be the law in relation to the exempt class are well illustrated in the legal definition of the term

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"student," as published in the "Regulations for the Admission of Chinese." Rule 16 Regulations of 1902, says: "A Chinese Student is a person who intends to be fitted for some particular profession or occupation for which facilities of study are not afforded in his own country; one for whose support and maintenance in this country, as a student, provision has been made, and who, upon completion of his studies, expects to return to China."

Rule 17. "Chinese who are admitted as students but without the certificates prescribed by section 6 of the Act of July 5th, 1884, and on their arrival in this country become laborers, are not entitled to remain in the United States and should be deported." United States, Chu Chee, 87 Federal Rep.

The injustice of the foregoing rules can be shown by one or two illustrations:

Let us suppose that a young male Chinese, of the class other than laborer, in his own country, should want to study the Natural History of the Potato Bug on American soil and in American climate.

Should we admit him? Would the administrative officers hold that this subject belongs to the list of studies included in the term "Highest Education?" It could not be claimed that the applicant could pursue this study in any of his own schools because of the atmospheric and other conditions which I have assumed to be a necessary condition to the successful prosecution of the desired study.

Of course, after careful examination, including very minute measurements, the authorities would be compelled to admit him.

Let us imagine that this student is assigned to the University of California, at Berkeley, and has there honorably completed his studies. He has written his thesis for a degree and has won the coveted honor. His paper is pronounced worthy of print. And the distinguished entomologist is asked to remain in the University and conduct a series of experiments illustrating or demonstrating his favorite subject, in association, say, with Professor Holgard. Under the present law he could not do so, because the law says that "upon completion of his studies he expects to return to China." My hypothetical student finished his studies when he received his degree. His sojourn in this country, after that period, was for the purpose of teaching us

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something, assuming that there is, or can be, anything in the manners and customs of the potato bug that we do not already know.

Again, let us suppose that a Chinese graduate of the Pekin University wished to take a post-graduate course in the Nevada State University. This student's purpose, we will say, is to ascertain if there is an asymptotic line which would, when extended to a predetermined point, approach a certain order or kind of curve with an accelerating degree of rapidity." In this case the examiner decides that his desired subject certainly belongs among the "higher branches," but refuses admission to the applicant on the ground that sufficient provision has not been made for the student's maintenance while prosecuting his studies."

If either of these supposed students, after arrival here, should have lost his guarantee for support and maintenance, he could not remain and work his way through college in this democratic country! His presence might irritate some member of an influential Labor Union with a political "pull."

Before closing our consideration of the cruelties and injustices constantly perpetrated upon the Exempt Class of Chinese, who apply for admission to this country, we must dwell a moment upon the unnecessary and continuous outrages that are perpetrated upon the Chinese in the "Detention Sheds." The reader will remember that when, for any reason, the applicant is denied admission to this country, by the officials, and an appeal to the proper authorities granted, he is confined in an inclosure called a "Detention Shed," pending the decision of his case. The shed used for such detention in this port is on the Pacific Mail Dock. From what can be learned from those who have survived and escaped from its horrors, it is a loathesome place, constructed with no regard to modern sanitary requirements. We have read of the horrors of the "Middle Passage" and of the cruelties perpetrated in the Andersonville and Libby prisons during the Civil War, but if the full and true story of the detention shed could be told, this modern instance of "man's inhumanity to man" would surpass any of those.

That this must be so the facts of the case conclusively prove. First—all who have been confined in these sheds belong to what we have always considered an inferior race. We have

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classed them with the Negro and Indian. Current history proves how we still treat the Negro. Hardly a month passes without the record of the burning of some one or more of them at the stake. And every one knows how popular used to be the saying "The only good Indian is a Dead Indian." It is in this attitude toward the colored races that we approach the Chinese. In our ignorance, prejudice and conceit we class them beneath ourselves in the scale of morality and intelligence. Thus it comes about that when a member of the Chinese family is placed in the detention shed, his friends denied or hindered access to him, he is in the worst condition of "Incommunicado," as our Spanish friends put it. Now in the case of Chinese ladies for any reason refused admission and sent to the Detention Shed, the imagination does not work hard to picture the vile abuse of power that is bound to follow when we place any human being beyond the protection of the common law. The reader will remember that, according to the Exclusion Laws, "the wife partakes of the status of her husband." And when a Chinese woman of the exempt class, is refused permission to land on our shores, she is immediately classed among "laborers" and placed in the detention shed. And we have shown that, for the purpose of carrying the exclusion act into effect, "laborers" are classed with gamblers and highbinders. When an Administrative officer has a comely Chinese woman under his absolute and irresponsible control, without access to her friends, and he knows that the law puts her on the level with the prostitute, what conduct can expect from him, especially if he is a low-grade, conscienceless politician, with none to call him to account?

For the sake of humanity and for our own good name, we should make haste to repeal this inhuman Exclusion Law.

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"Behold I have set before thee an open door and no man can shut it."—Rev. 3: 8.

SUMMARY

We have gathered the facts. It remains to assemble and arrange them in some approach to order. The time is too short to make the mosaic a pleasure to the eye. The careful reader will discern that the material has been gleaned from all sources. We have gone back to the early history of the State and we have called items from the current issues of the daily newspaper. We have trusted that the mere statement of the facts was all the argument needed to prove the case. We have shown that from the earliest history of the State the Chinaman has been with us. From the day that the three Chinese landed here in 1848, and became the servants in the household of the Pioneer, C. V. Gillespie, to the present time, the Chinese have been an undispensable part of our domestic economy.

We have resurrected a list of the outrages perpetrated upon the Chinese in this State during the last fifty years, which should bring the blush of shame to every American.

I say American, because California alone should not justly bear the blame. She was not wholly responsible for the law as it was interpreted in the case of the People *vs.* Hall, in 1854, and in the more famous decision of Judge Taney in the Dred-Scott case.

During the perpetration of all these outrages the patient and long-suffering Chinaman was our trusted servant, the companion of our children, and the mainstay of the household. And there is hardly an instance on record in which our Yellow Brother sought revenge for his injuries or made reprisals on the defenseless.

In the early history of the State when the few Caucasian laborers who were here could not be relied upon, the Chinese built our railways.

They were indispensable on the farm. Most of our orchards owe their origin and existence to the patient labor of the in-

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telligent Chinaman. Our fruit industry, that amounts to nearly $10,000,000 during the current year, depends upon them for its very existence. They have leveed our swamp lands, and the man who knows what kind of work that is and grudges the hard-earned dollar which the Chinese toiler receives therefor is usually one who is very careful to avoid all such exposure and expenditure of effort himself.

We have shown by the amplest and most indisputable evidence that but for the presence of the Chinese in the early history of our State, it would have been impossible to start and carry on many of our manufacturing industries. The testimony given at nearly all the investigations made by our Labor Commissioners proved that the Chinese were absolutely indispensable to our manufacturing interests.

This is specially true of the cigar, shoe and woolen industries. It has been proved that, immediately after the Geary Act went into effect, the industries which mainly depended upon the labor of the Chinese gradually and steadily declined. And today, with a population nearly three times what we had thirty years ago, we have, for example, fewer white shoemakers than we had in 1869. And a similar fact applies to the cigar industry, the woolen industry and to other industries in a greater or less degree.

Our fishing industry, especially deep water fishing, has been dependent upon Chinese labor. And we have Dr. Jordan's emphatic testimony as to their usefulness and necessity in that severe and indispensable occupation.

Speaking of fish, every housewife in San Francisco knows that since the use of steam fishing vessels has been introduced into our waters by a class of foreigners who are eligible to citizenship, the price of fish has been steadily raised, even above that of meat, in some cases. The Italian owners of these improved fishing appliances have formed a "Trust" and have successfully ousted the Chinese fishermen, much to the detriment of the pocket of every American household. Yet, in our blindness and "Yellow" prejudice, we can see no good in "John." We have given him a bad name and we seem resolutely determined to prove that he deserves it.

And this, the cultivation of edible sea weeds, suggests the fact that—a most valuable food-product of our seacoast—is almost wholly neglected. If our prejudice would but allow

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us to employ the Chinese they could efficiently aid us in gathering this most valuable harvest of the sea.

This *statement* has conclusively proven one important fact: that the present campaign against the Asiatic is wholly the work of the Trade Unions—that the people at large have hardly any interest in it. We have shown how the Secretary of a State Labor Organization can at any time manufacture a semblance of public opinion. For example, the Secretary of the Building Trades Council of California, with its 170 affiliated organizations, can at any time get the newspapers to publish, discuss and seemingly approve the gist of their resolutions.

We have given the reader the very best that can be said against the Chinese, the mouthings of the demagogue and the arguments of the statesman. We have shown the irrelevancy of their illustrations—the insufficiency of their facts and the incompetency of their conclusions. We have printed almost the entire speech of the ablest United States Representative that ever spoke in the National Legislature upon Chinese exclusion. In this same statement we have also printed the speech of a journeyman tailor in this city in 1902, and we confidently ask the reader who is familiar with the doctrine of Henry George to compare the two speeches.

The speech of Judge Maguire—for it is to him I refer as the eminent legislator—when pleading for the rights of man, is most eloquent and convincing, but lame and halting when he attempts to deny their application to at least one-third of mankind. We stop to ask here, how can any sane man logically plead the right of self-preservation against the peaceful Chinese worker in a country which he so repeatedly affirms is "measureless and inexhaustible in its resources"?

Let us now consider our treaty relations with the Chinese. We will quote only enough to show their rank injustice and the urgent necessity of their immediate revision in the interests of good feeling and of commercial necessity.

While dwelling upon the necessity of better treaty relations, let us recall the kindly language of "Your good friend, John Tyler."

The attitude of the United States toward China is shown by the treaties which we have made with that country since 1880, and the exclusion acts growing out of said treaties. In

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1868 we did attempt to give effect to the sentiments expressed by "Your good friend, John Tyler," written in 1843. And the following liberal language is found in Article V of that treaty:

"The inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantge of the free migration and immigration of their citizens and subjects from the one country to the other for the purposes of trade, or as permanent residents."

And right here it might be wholly pertinent to ask what is the sense of asserting the "inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance," if, when that man attempts to land upon our shores, we refuse him permission to do so? And is not *that just what we do?* Especially if the applicant belongs to the industrial classes.

Article VI of the same treaty provides that:

"Citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities or exemptions in respect of travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. And, reciprocally, Chinese subjects residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation."

It is almost needless to say that the last clause of Article VI is not now observed as the law of the land. And the spirit, if not the letter, of every act passed by our national legislature since 1880 has been used to hinder the application of this clause of that solemn treaty.

The fourth treaty, known as the "Supplementary Treaty," of November 17, 1880, by its Article I, provides that:

"Whenever, in the opinion of the Government of the United States, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, or their residence therein, affects, or threatens to affect, the interests of the country, or to endanger the good order of the said country or of any locality within the territory thereof, * * * the Government of the United States may regulate, limit or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable, and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included

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in the limitations. Legislation taken in regard to Chinese laborers will be of such a character only as is necessary to enforce the regulation, limitation or suspension of immigration, and immigrants shall not be subject to personal maltreatment or abuse."

Its Article II declares that:

"Chinese subjects, whether proceeding to the United States as teachers, students, merchants, or from curiosity, together with their body and household servants, and Chinese laboreres who are now in the United States, shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions which are accorded to citizens and subjects of the most favored nation."

The fifth treaty, that of December 8, 1894, agreed that:

"For a period of ten years, beginning with the date of the exchange of the ratification of this convention, the coming, except under the conditions hereinafter specified, of Chinese laborers to the United States, shall be absolutely prohibited."

Its Article III continued the rights of the privileges of coming to and residing in the United States. Its Article IV gave to all Chinese, even laborers, "for the protection of their persons and property, all rights that are given by the laws of the United States to citizens of the most favored nation, except the right to become naturalized citizens." This treaty was terminated by China at the end of ten years, in accordance with terms of its Article VI, applicable to both countries.

In October, 1888, Congress passed an act, supplementary to the act of 1882, which "executed" the treaties then in force with a vengeance. *by entirely prohibiting the return of all Chinese laborers to the United States, and by explicitly declaring void and of no effect the return certificates already granted under the act of 1882.* No more return certificates could thereafter be given, no Chinese laborer could thereafter lawfully return; and even American citizens of Chinese descent, born here, were excluded under this act, which remained in force until the treaty of 1894 came into effect. Let it be remembered that the treaty then existing forbade the United States to *prohibit* the coming of Chinese.

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In March 1901, Congress passed an act supplementary to the prohibiting act of 1892, which provided:

"That no warrant or arrest for violation of the Chinese exclusion laws shall be issued by United States Commissioners, excepting upon the sworn complaint of a United States District Attorney, Assistant United States District Attorney, Collector or Inspector of Customs, Immigration Inspector, United States Marshal, or Deputy United States Marshal, or Chinese Inspector, unless the issuing of such warrant of arrest shall first be approved or requested in writing by the United States District Attorney of the district in which issued."

How this law has been observed by United States officials, and how carefully the spirit of it has been observed, is plain from the fact that, on a Sunday evening in October, 1903, about three hundred Chinamen were dragged from their homes, restaurants, clubrooms and shops, in the city of Boston, Massachusetts, by police under the control of United States Chinese inspectors under the orders of the Immigration Commissioner of the port, arrested and imprisoned in the Federal building, and all without any warrant at all, unless one or two warrants first issued can be said to have justified the proceeding. The next day warrants were sworn out for the men the officials dared to hold—about one hundred in number. A United States District Judge surprised the able counsel who took the matter before him on behalf of the Chinese by deciding that this raid was lawful, and that the arrests were lawful, though without warrants for all but two of the arrested persons, although Article IV of the treaty of 1894 was then still in force. Let it be remembered that Chinese persons were at the time entitled by treaty to the protection of the United States; and that Section 1977 of the United States Revised Statutes said that: "All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right * * * to the full and equal benefits of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property, as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, penalties, taxes, licenses and executions of every kind, and to no other."

Would the judge in question have decided that such proceedings were legal if three hundred British or German sub-

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jects or French citizens had been raided and imprisoned without warrants?''

The foregoing extracts from our treaties with China, and most of the comments thereon, are taken from the article of Mr. Nickerson in the North American Review of September, 1905.

They most conclusively prove that we have broken our treaty engagements with the Chinese government. And the whole history of our legislative relations with China since 1880 indicates one policy, and that is to make it as difficult as possible to land a Chinaman in this country, although a solemn treaty, never solicited by his own government, grants him that natural and lawful right. The administration officials execute the laws as if it were not their function to allow Chinese people to enter, but as if it were their whole duty to keep them out. They act as if a Chinese person, once allowed to pass their guards and enter this country, was a complete loss to them. The decisions of the courts and of the various officials connected with the Chinese Bureau are codified into a body of laws that for downright cruelty and colossal absurdity cannot be duplicated among civilized nations.

And these laws are made to keep out a people with whom we are seeking the closest commercial relations and the most liberal trade concessions and privileges!

It is folly to flatter ourselves that we can go on in this way insulting an old, cultured and high-spirited nation, and do so with impunity. Have we received no lesson from Japan? We look with amazement upon her advance in the arts of peace and of war, especially in the art of naval warfare. What Japan has done, China can and may do. They are essentially one people, with the same religion, philosophy and destiny. Is it not wise to conciliate rather than antagonize them? Even as I write, the very latest news from Pekin says that: "The army maneuvers which have just been completed greatly impressed witnessing engineers, especially those acquainted with the condition of Chinese troops five years ago.''

That this is the result of contact with, and instruction from the Japanese, appears from the same dispatch, which goes on to say: "The troops gave evidence of Japanese training, and

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one attache remarked that he had seen twenty Japanese in Chinese uniforms."

Let us remember that before the Battle of the Yalu, the Japanese maneuvers received no such favorable comment, and probably did not merit it. Perhaps a few dispatches like the foregoing may set us thinking. And it is barely possible that our statesmen may be induced to negotiate a treaty with China without pandering to the American Federation of Labor. (It might be interesting to learn what percentage of the membership in the said "American" Federation of Labor are American citizens.) We need a treaty with China that will nullify all the vicious laws on our statute books growing out of Chinese immigration, and which officials may enforce even against white citizens, when the ocacsion requires such a proceeding.

Mr. Nickerson closes the article from which I have just quoted with the following sentence: "The decisions of the Supreme Courts have progressed in their harsh interpretation of the rights of persons of Chinese descent until the last decision of the majority of that body is a grave menace to the liberty of white American citizens."

This is what we invariably get for any attempt to abridge liberty. "But if, while there is yet time, we turn to Justice and obey her, if we trust Liberty and follow her, the dangers that now threaten must disappear, the forces that now menace will turn to agencies of elevation." This is the language of inspiration, written by the man who formulated the principles that humanity must soon accept or suffer the inevitable ills that now threaten us for our persistent refusal to trust and act upon that immortal declaration on which our Governments rests.

It would be humiliating and disheartening to dwell upon our failures in government—our denials of justice to those who most need its protection—our general departure from the political creed of our fathers, if we did not know that God reigns and that, in His own good time, we shall see His sign in the heavens, under which we shall surely conquer.

If our contact with the Asiatic nations compels us to do justice to our own people, then indeed will their coming have proved a blessing, and the old Latin saying, "Ex Oriente Lux," will find a new and broader application.

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For the past fifty years every writer who has written of our relations with the East has dwelt upon the desirability of our getting our share of the Oriental trade, and, indeed, of its absolute necessity to us. Now we may safely assert that our natural share of this trade cannot possibly be coaxed to our shores as long as our statute books retain legislation so hostile to Chinese immigrants. But a few days since appeared the statistics of our trade with Japan. From Washington we learn that our trade with that country for the year ending with last September was $142,659,000! The same dispatch assures us that our exports to the Chinese Empire, for the same period, reached the value of only $52,516,361! Another dispatch of the same month tells us that the total value of the trade of the Orient is three thousand million dollars a year. And we are further informed that, of all this Oriental trade, we get about ten per cent, while Great Britain receives 60 per cent! This is the real wealth of "Ormus and of Ind," the commercial prize so richly worth striving for. Are we satisfied with but 10 per cent of that vast trade? A trade that is constantly and rapidly increasing and must continue to do so as civilization progresses?

Look at the figures from Japan and compare them with the estimates of the China trade! Remember that what Japan has achieved in trade China may achieve, yea, more than tenfold. For we know that in every large commercial house in Japan they have a Chinese "comprador" to guarantee the integrity of the trade. Is it not a shame that the law hinders the policy-holders of our great life insurance companies from importing a few of these same Chinese compradors to straighten out the tangle into which their high-salaried officials have gotten them?

A recent writer, Mr. Little, tells us that China has twenty-seven times the area of Japan. And we might add that it has nine times the population. Here surely is food for thought and the legitimate exercise of our imagination. Our competitive civilization and expansive industries absolutely compel us to seek a foreign market for our surplus products. It is stated that we consume 92 per cent of our own products. Consequently, we have but 8 per cent for export. But any hindrance to the disposal of that 8 per cent would utterly confuse our commercial relations and create widespread suf-

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fering among our own people. Just the difference of 1 per cent per annum on the wrong side of the ledger would ultimately but certainly bankrupt the merchant.

The careless reader may think that we have no need to worry about the disposal of this 8 per cent in export trade, and that it does not amount to much anyway. A few figures will dispel that notion. In 1904 our export trade to Germany alone was $215,000,000. It had risen to that figure from $93,000,000 in 1891. Here we have an increase of more than 131 per cent. This larger sum is only exceeded by our exports to Great Britain.

But before we felicitate ourselves on this ratio of increase in our foreign trade with Germany, let us remember that Germany has taken lessons of us and adopted a protective tariff. We taught her the tariff trick and she is improving upon the lesson. But it is to our serious detriment.

Our present tariff relations with Germany will expire next March, and it is expected that our export trade to that country will diminish at least 25 per cent. This is serious. It concerns every product in the United States.

Again: The commercial status of Great Britain, our best customer, is by no means fixed. Mr. Chamberlain, her able statesman, has been fighting a long while for a preferential tariff with the colonies of Great Britain. In comparison with Germany, Great Britain has been losing ground, commercially, for some time. And it need not surprise anyone to find that our greatest market may be partially closed against us

Hence, with all these facts staring us in the face, does it not behoove us to sedulously cultivate friendly relations with China? But how can we reasonably expect friendly relations with a great nation while we continually persecute her citizens and insult herself? Remember that we must find a foreign market for our surplus product. It is absolutely necessary to our national prosperity, if not even to our existence, that we dispose of it in trade. And, as the lover of freedom ask for more democracy, for the correction of abuses of freedom already existing, so the trade unionist will clamor for more exclusion acts for his increased "protection."

That I may state the position of the advocates of exclusion more explicitly, I will quote a paragraph from Mr. Mac-

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arthur's address delivered before the Iroquois Club in this city, August 5, 1905. Among other things he said: "I think it is better to lose Chinese trade than to throw down the bars for the admission of coolie laborers. What will it profit this country to win the good will of China or Japan, if in doing so it must forfeit the heritage of the people, the soil for which our forefathers bled?"

These are bold words. But they are not wise. Nor do they harmonize with the facts. The good will of China and Japan is absolutely necessary to our trade relations with those countries. Nor does friendship for the Asiatic peoples imperil our own heritage. On the contrary, if we wish to preserve the productiveness of our soil, we must use the very methods which the Chinese and Japanese employ. We must restore to the soil an equivalent for the fertilizing matter which is taken from it. On this the Asiatic can teach us something.

Again: Where is the single, specifice measure that Mr. Macarthur and his associates have advocated that would set the soil of his forefathers free to the access of the people who are most entitled to its use? It has been remarked more than once that the most virulent opponents to the doctrines of Henry George are the trade unionists. And it is shrewdly alleged that the reason of this opposition is that the leaders —who are paid fat salaries—would be in danger of losing their jobs if George's theory were put into practice, as there would be little left for them to do along the line of their present activity.

If I do not mistake, I have now shown the reader that friendly relations with China and the Far East are absolutely necessary for the people of the United States. And that the first step towards those friendly relations must be the radical revision of our present treaty with China. And then we must treat the Chinese people, who have been encouraged by treaty to enter and remain in our territory, the same as we treat other foreigners who are sojourning with us.

Again: If we desire to sell more of our surplus products to China, we must reciprocate. Under present conditions, China has a surplus of laborers—her human product. Hardy and industrious, they have strength and skill for sale. Ours is their best market and there is no good and sufficient reason why we should not utilize what is thus offered us.

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Our country needs at least five hundred thousand Asiatic laborers, intelligent and competent. And when Mr. Macarthur and his associates are wise enough to enact into statute the formula enunciated by the printer-prophet of San Francisco, then the coming of our elder brethren from the Far East will be welcomed. And even Mr. Macarthur will be benefited by their coming.

We have shown that in this country, at least, there is no danger of population pressing upon the limits of subsistence. But that it is constantly pressing upon the fences of privilege, and the enclosures of franchise; and will continue to do so until the people have sense enough to let down the bars and remove the fences that hinder free access to the natural resources which they enclose.

Yes, that is the solution of the problem: Trust in God—set free the land, the support of all ife—adjust transportation and exchange in accordance with modern knowledge and social needs. The force thus set free will revolutionize the conditions of men and hasten the day when the toiler can sit under his own vine and fig tree, with none to molest or make him afraid. With free access to the soil and fredom to exchange its products with all mankind, we need have no fear of over-production; as the gratification of man's desire has always been the incentive to progress. There is no condition conceivable where the cultured demands of humanity can be satisfied. No man has ever exhausted the inherent resources of an acre of land. Desire is an infinite attribute of humanity. The capacity to satisfy it is finite and limited.

"Think of the powers now wasted; of the infinite fields of knowledge yet to be explored;; of the possibilities of which the wondrous inventions of this century give us but a hint. With want destroyed; with greed changed to noble passion; with the fraternity that is born of equality taking the place of the jealousy and fear that now array men against each other; with mental power loosed by conditions that give to the humblest comfort and leisure, and who shall measure the heights to which civilization may soar?

"Words fail the thought! It is the Golden Age of which poets have sung and high-raised seers have told in metaphor. It is the glorious vision which has always haunted man with gleams of fitful splendor. It is what he saw whose eyes were

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closed as in a trance at Patmos. It is the culmination of Christianity—the city of God on earth, with its walls of jasper and its gates of pearl. It is the reign of the Prince of Peace!"

To aid in the attainment of the conditions so eloquently described by the printer-prophet who has given us the antidote to the poison of exclusion acts, I ask the workingmen themselves to extend the same right to the Chinaman that we did to the negro. Let us take from his path all restrictions of treaty and statute. Let us grant to him the rights that we ask for ourselves, and admit him to all the privileges and duties of American citizenship.

Then we may not look with such contempt upon the race that has given to history Confucius, Mencius, Jenghis Khan and Timour.

"Yea, here we sit by the Golden Gate;
Nor demanding much, but inviting you all.
Nor publishing loud, but daring to wait.
And great in much that the days seem small.
And the gate, it is God's, to Cathay, Japan;
And who shall shut it in the face of man!"

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APPENDIX

Era of Persecution

The present crusade against the Asiatics now resident in California and throughout the country is the direct and legitimate outcome of the antipathy that people of so-called Anglo-Saxon origin have against "people of color." Many of our early law makers, here in California, were formerly citizens of the slave States. Their judgment was warped by long contact with the "peculiar institution." One of the California statutes of 1850, provides that "No black or Mulatto person, or Indian shall be permitted to give evidence in favor of or against any white person."

This vicious and discriminating statute was confirmed by the California Supreme Court in the case of "The People vs. Hall." Wherein the Court held "that the words Indian, Negro, Black and White are generic terms designating race. That therefore Chinese and all other peoples, not white, are included in the prohibition from being witnesses against Whites." Chief Justice Murray, who delivered the opinion, was an able lawyer at a time when there were many brilliant jurists in this State. But, like Judge Taney, who "handed down" the Dred-Scott decision, in 1856, he was a man with the instincts of the South in his very blood, and we could not expect him, at that early day, to be more liberal than his environment and education justified. In building a foundation for this decision he reviewed the various theories set forth by the ethnologists of his time, and accepted the one that best fitted his theory of the law.

Ethnology was, in Judge Murray's day, under the influence of Blumenbach and contemporary naturalists. It is now

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known that their knowledge was necessarily meager and that their racial classification was arbitrary, if not whimsical.

Yet, if Justice Murray desired to construe the statute with the law of human freedom, he might have taken some inspiration from "Your good friend," John Tylers letter, which was written in 1843. It will be remembered that Mr. Tyler said, among other simple and sweet things: "We shall not take the part of evil doers. We shall not uphold them that break our laws." Then the Court had the Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution as a guide to the liberal construction of the law. The following sentence from that Amendment should have suggested to Justice Murray that the Chinaman before his Court was "without due process of law." "Nor shall (any person) be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law." I am not a lawyer, but it seems to me that a man who is not permitted to testify in his own behalf, is virtually "a witness against himself".

Then the following sentence from Article 19 of the Treaty of Pwan Tang, proclaimed in 1846, was a part of the law of the land, and was probably on Justice Murray's desk while he was writing the opinion that caused so much bloodshed in California.

> *"All citizens of the United States, in China, peaceably attending to their affairs, being placed on a common footing of amity and good will with the subjects of China, shall receive and enjoy for themselves and everything appertaining to them, the special protection of the local authorities of Government, who shall defend them from all insult, or injury, of any sort on the part of the Chinese."*

The foregoing sentiments are humane and considerate and display proper solicitude for the safety of our citizens who were sojourning on Chinese territory.

John Tyler said, in his letter: "Let there be no unfair advantage on either side." With this reciprocal sentiment and the sentence from the treaty just quoted, it seems as if Justice Murray might have so interpreted the statute that the

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foundations and guarantees of human freedom would have been strengthened, and the sentiments of "Your good friend" John Tyler's letter would not have been proclaimed a lie.

At this late date it is perhaps useless for a layman to critisize the legal reasoning of Justice Murray, in the foregoing decision. Yet in the light of the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, in the case of the *United States vs. Ju Toy*, it behooves every citizen—of this country—especially if he be of foreign birth—to look to the safeguards that surround his right to live on American soil.

The Statute of 1850 seems plain to the common man. It prohibits Blacks, Mulattoes, or Indians from giving evidence in favor of or against any White person. Does it not seem reasonable that if the legislators intended to include other races in this prohibitory clause they would have mentioned those races. The Chinese were in the State since 1848, two years before the Statute was made, and the legislators must have known this fact. And having known it is not reasonable to conclude that if they intended to prohibit Chinese from testifying, for or against a white man, they would have said so. This case seems to have been decided on the principle that whatever is not allowed in express terms is disallowed, the very principle which stated in other and more precise legal phraseology, has been used to give effectiveness to the present Chinese exclusion laws.

I think that the law, as laid down, is somewhat as follows:

The true theory is not that all Chinese persons may enter this country who are not forbidden, but that only those are entitled to enter who are expressly allowed.

This principle of interpreting silence and negation in a positive manner against the liberty of the individual, I believe to be a practice—to put it mildly—that is "more honored in the breach than in the observance."

As the Negro citizen of the United States has sad and bitter reason to remember the Dred-Scott decision, so the Chinese residents of the State, since 1854, have had grevious cause to remember the decision "handed down" in the case of *The People vs. Hall.* And it is a legitimate statement to make that the eighty-five murders recited by the legislative com-

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mittee of 1862, may be laid to the vicious principle affirmed by Justice Murray.

This devilish statute remained the law of the State of California until the Codes of 1873 went into effect, notwithstanding that the following statute was enacted by Congress, May 31, 1870:

> *"All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every State and Territory to make and enforce contracts to sue, be parties, give evidence and to the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property, as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, penalties, taxes, licenses and exactions of every kind and to no other."*

The foregoing statute should have been the law of the land from the foundation of our government.

Here follows a list of outrages taken at random from a file of the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, from Dec. 3, 1855, to September 29, 1876. They are a portion of 262 outrages, published in only one of the newspapers of the State at that period.

August 18, 1856.—*Marysville Herald.*—A murder was committed about a week ago on Sunken Bar, on the middle fork of Feather river. Three men entered the tent of Chinamen at the bar, and demanded and took away all they had; afterwards took them out, tied them and deliberately commenced shooting at them. One got away and gave the alarm. When parties reached there, they found the bodies had been dragged to the river and thrown in.

December 18, 1856.—Supposed to be something wonderful. —F. Blair is to be executed at Shasta, on the 16th of January, 1857, for the murder of a Chinaman.

The crime was committed in October last, near Portugese Flat, Shasta county. The Shasta Republican says: "Hundreds of Chinamen have been slaughtered in cold blood during the last five years by desperadoes that infest our state. The murder of Chinamen was of almost daily occurrence, yet in all this time we have heard of but two or three instances where the guilty parties have been brought to justice and punished according to law.

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Many persons have avowed themselves opposed to execution of white men for the murder of Chinamen. It seems to us, that a sentiment more outrageous to all principles of justice could not be conceived. The life of a Chinaman is as sacred to the law as that of any other human being. Chinamen are weak and defenseless. Even the digger Indians hold them at mercy. We do not, therefore, regret to see white men punished for the murder of Chinamen. White men who kill Chinamen are guilty of murder of the most cowardly character. The helplessness of the victim aggravates, rather than palliates the crime.

January 21, 1857.—Execution of Blair of Shasta has been postponed by the Governor until the 6th of March next. He was not hung, after all.

February 8, 1857.—Petition of James Hanley, Chinese interpreter of Chinese Camp, Tuolumne county, to J. Meeley Johnson, Governor of the State of California:

"A plea for the Chinese to be heard as witnesses in our courts of justice." On the 29th of January, an affray took place in Montezuma, three miles from the above-named place. Four Americans and five Chinese came into collision in which each of the Chinese had his skull fractured. One of them died on the 31st, two others are not expected to live, and the rest are very much disabled.

On the 29th of May, the five Chinamen bought a claim from a miner named William Smith, who gave them a certicate for the same. From that time they held peaceful possession until the white men came along, and the men were instantly arrested, and brought before Mr. Parker, the magistrate of the township, who had to dismiss the case on account of Chinese testimony being invalid.

March 4, 1857.—The *Calaveras Chronicle* mentions a case where fifteen or twenty Chinese were taken before Justice Stevens at Andreas, on Tuesday last, on charge of gambling. The Judge imposed a fine of $500 on each, making in all $7000. The Johns refused to pay and were locked up. They were taken before Judge Porter, on a habeas corpus, to Mokelumne Hill, but were sent back to jail. The imposition of a fine of $500, upon the poor, ignorant, inoffensive crea-

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tures, seems very severe, as white men are invariably let off with a fine of $100 and seldom ever punished at all.

April 7, 1857.—The citizens of Long Bar held a meeting on the eevning of the 4th inst., when they passed a resolution approving of the conduct of the people of Bangor in recently executing three desperadoes and confessed robbers.

Resolved, That in the absence of law to punish white men on Chinese testimony, it behooves each mining community to protect the Chinese of their locality, and after fully investigating an act of wrong or desperation, either to persons or property of Chinese, that punishment should follow, a finding of guilty even to death. That from the facts as we have received them from reliable sources, we are convinced of the guilt of the three men executed, and we fully endorse the acts of the citizens of Bangor, that while we have no wish to interfere with the editor's management of the Marysville Express, we would respectfully intimate to him that the cry for law and order is looked upon by a large majority of the community as meaning nothing less than the protection to murderers, thieves and gamblers.

August 17, 1857.—The *Hormitos Democrat* states:—A few days ago four American robbers entered a Chinese camp on the Chowchilla river, and demanded all their gold dust. Upon their refusing they drew their revolvers and shot one Chinaman dead on the spot. Upon seeing this the Chinese delivered over the sum of $250, and left at once their camp and are on their way to Merced river where they have more protection than here.

March 1, 1857.—The *Sacramento Bee* reporter from Ewing's Canyon, upper crossing of the Consummes, February 23rd, says:

Today the Chinamen of the vicinity were visited by the mining tax colectors (which happened once a month). The Chinese were treated most brutally by them. In the absence of white men to witness the proceedings they beat them with a whip, most unmercifully. I saw one man whose back was beaten to a jelly by those courageous servants of the people. Chinamen do not appear to have adequate protection from the assaults of persons who usually discharge the duties of foreign miners' tax collectors.

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March 9.—The *Sacramento Union* says:—On Thursday, the 4th of March, a mob of about 150 persons of foreign birth assembled near Alder creek in Sacramento county to expell all the Chinamen. Holfort Anderson and Michael Wallace made speeches and then the mob marched a circuit about ten miles, driving the Chinese away, tearing up their sluices, raising their dwellings, beating and maltreating them. About 200 of the Chinese were deprived of their homes and property. One object was, no doubt, plunder, as we heard in several instances, they took the money away from them. Another object was to take their claims away, which most of them had purchased of their robbers at a time before. We learn that the grand jury has taken the case in hand. On the 6th inst. Sheriff Manlove and three deputies proceeded to Folsom and arrested 17 persons, among them the above-named leaders, and took them to Sacramento. The Grand Jury have found a true bill against them.

November 24, 1857.—On the 20th inst. at a meeting of miners of the Agua Fria district, Mariposa County, J. W. Rony, chairman, and S. W. Smith, secretary, states the *Mariposa Gazette*: It was resolved, we have by the general government permission to make our own laws, without consulting the miners of other districts. That we will enforce our laws and regulations. The regulations which have been in vogue for two and a half years, prohibiting Chinamen from working within our district, shall be the rule and law of this district. If any Chinaman stop in this district to mine, he must leave within forty-eight hours after being notified by three miners, at least. If they do not leave, the miners of the district shall compel them to leave and inflict such punishment as they may deem proper. That these laws shall be good until repealed. A committee of five, Purdy, White, Pain, Allen and Alexander, were appointed to warn the Chinamen to leave, in terms of the resolution.

April 30, 1862.—*Mariposa Gazette* says:—There are about 3000 Chinese washing gold on the Fremont estate. The common tax, $1 per month, is charged by the manager. This the Chinamen cheerfully pay and prefer it to a county license for the reason that they are protected and their claims can-

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not be jumped by a loose vagabond who is desirous of making a raise out of Chinamen.

August 1, 1864.—From the *Downiville Messenger*, July 29.—"Last Saturday eight Indians visited Fairfield Bar on Middle Fork of Feather river, as tax collectors. Two old Chinamen were politely requested to pungle down their poll tax, when they presented their receipts, the lord of the forest assured the Johns, that the said papers were no good. Nothing short of cash would satisfy the demand. The Johns having no money, the tax collectors knocked them down and took away rice, pork and other valuables from their cabin and departed.

November 5, 1864.—C. Cornbloom was arrested yesterday for obtaining money under false pretenses. It appears that Cornbloom called upon a Chinese merchant a few days ago and stated that he knew of a Chinese family who were suffering from destitution, and requested the Chinese merchant to write a petition in the Chinese language to be used in obtaining subscriptions among those people, for the relief of the sufferers. Aimed with this document, he called upon a large number of Chinese mercantile houses who subscribed very liberally and Cornbloom pocketed the proceeds. The matter was placed in the hands of Officer Spiller, who succeeded in procuring the testimony of white people in regard to Cornbloom's operations.

December 17.—On Saturday night last, says the *Sacramento Union* of December 15th, at a place called Teats' Flat, about five miles this side of Folsom, on the American river, a company of Chinamen were called upon by a band of robbers and ordered to deliver up their valuables, which order they refused to obey. The robbers then shot two of the Chinamen, but they were not dangerously wounded. This so frightened the rest of the Chinese that they ran away, leaving the robbers all they had. On Thursday night the same Chinamen were again visited by a band of robbers and order to deliver. The Chinamen became desperate at receiving calls so often and commenced shooting at the robbers, which fire proved too hot for them, causing them to fly without booty. The practice of robbing Chinese has become so frequent of late, that scarcely a week passes by, without some of the Chinamen being attacked, beaten and plundered.

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February 12, 1867.—One of the most brutal and disgraceful riots which has ever occurred in this city, has been going on this morning near the foot of Third street, and at the ropewalks at Hunter's Point. It seems that Weed & Anderson contracted for grading some lots on Townsend street, and they employed 30 Chinamen to work for them. When it became known to Irishmen who had been engaged in that kind of work, and had a kind of union amongst them, that Chinese labor would be employed, they threatened to prevent them working. The Chinese laborers have been engaged for several days past in erecting a small building in which they intended living during their time of employment, which was completed yesterday. About 8 o'clock this morning a party of fifteen Chinamen were set to work by the foreman, D. S. Marshall, they had no sooner commenced to work, than a party of white people appeared and commenced throwing stones and missiles at them. They were few in numbers, and no attention was paid to their assaults. A short time afterwards, a large party came along and commenced throwing bricks and stones, with yells at the Chinamen, assaulting and beating them in the most cruel and outrageous manner; this brought a great many more white laborers to the spot. The poor creatures attempted to escape, and were surrounded by the crowd. The foreman, Marshall, endeavored to resist the assault, when he was knocked down by a heavy rock which struck him on the head: he was also badly beaten, his face bruised and torn and his chest considerably injured from a stone. One Chinaman had his skull fractured; another had his face beaten almost to a jelly; afterwards they pulled the house down, scattered the Chinamen's provisions, and set the contents on fire. By this time two policemen arrived, but they were not strong enough to arrest anyone, so with the assistance of outsiders, extinguished the fire; afterwards the crowd went to the ropewalks to clean out, as they yelled with delight, all the Chinamen there. At their arrival there they found that the Chinamen all cleared out on the hills in good time; they afterwards found a few, and handled them roughly; afterwards they set fire to two shanties near there, which have been occupied by the Chinamen, and burned all the contents. Chief Crowley started out with a number of

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mounted policemen, and when he arrived there, he found that there were too many roughs there for his party, so he addressed and persuaded them to go home, as there was a much larger force coming, which had the effect of inducing them to leave. Afterwards the police secured some of them, and we have no doubt that they will be sentenced very severely.

March 18.—The *Stockton Independent* has the following sensible remark:—The question of the utility of Chinese labor is indeed a very important one and will assume features of greater importance as our commerce with China acquires the strength it is finally destined to gain. Our people are made secure in their lives and property in China, by a treaty between the two Governments; and this treaty guarantees to the Chinamen the same consideration at our hands. If their presence here is an evil, we must make the best we can out of it—at least until such a time as our Government thinks the matter of importance enough to take into consideration. We must take advantage of the means thrown in our way, and use cheap labor in many of our new enterprises, and to produce the raw materials which will make employment for our other labor, business for our cities, commerce for our ships, and a full market for the production of our agriculture. In conclusion, we look upon the efforts of Democrats to alienate from their proper allegiance the working masses attached to the Union party, as a base, underhanded and unworthy trick, such in fact as can only be expected from a political juggery.

June 17.—The *Nevada County Transcript*.—Six robbers went to some Chinese cabins at Oregon Creek, near Emery's crossing, on the North Yuba, on Friday last, and after robbing the cabins, killed one Chinaman and wounded another fatally. The cabins are located on the Sierra side, and the Chinamen were engaged in mining. The first cabin was robbed of $50 and burned. The robber then visited the second cabin and the Chinamen had fastened themselves in, and refused admission to the robbers. The fiends set the house on fire, and then amused themselves by shooting at the Chinamen as they ran from the burning building. The robbers are supposed to belong to the same gang who killed several Chinamen in their locality some months since.

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April 15, 1868.—This morning a Chinaman was passing peaceably along Bryant street near Fourth, when some boys, came along, turned a dog loose, and set him on the Chinaman, with loud shouts. The savage brute rushed at the Chinaman, who have nothing else to defend himself, took his hat off and shook it in the dog's face. This did no good, so he turned to flee, crying for help as best he could, but the brute, still urged on by the boys, seized him by one of his legs and pulled him down. By desperate efforts to strike and choke the dog, he succeeded in keeping the dog's fangs out of his throat. His leg was bitten, and his pants torn. He regained his feet, but the dog, catching the spirit of his brutal masters, kept his hold, and again pulled him down. His hands were badly bitten, and his clothing torn in many places. Four or five times the brute got the Chinaman down, and a large crowd of boys stood by, none of whom did anything to aid the poor fellow, who was so exhausted and frightened that he could scarcely stand. The noise attracted the attention of N. C. Walton, the superintendent of the West Coast Furniture Factory who hastened to the rescue, and drove the dog and its cowardly associates away. He obtained the name of those who were foremost in the outrage, and took the Chinaman down to the City Hall with him to obtain summonses.

Thus the list of cruel and cowardly assaults on these people swells almost daily. Only last week, Mr. Walton saw one of them pass along Main street, molesting no one, when a burly ruffian took a stone and hurled it at his head. The Chinaman put his hand up and the rock struck it, tearing the skin and flesh from every knuckle, bone deep. The fellow who threw it made good his escape. Every week, almost, many similar cases are brought to the attention of the police, but the evil increases to the disgrace of our boasted civilization.

June 18.—The *Nevada City Gazette* of June 15 says: "We have before alluded to the shameful manner in which Chinese are beaten, robbed and otherwise maltreated by rascally white men in some parts of our county. Now it would seem as if the Ku Klux Klan, emboldened by the action of the legislature in refusing to remit Chines evidence against white men, are comitting fiendish depredation upon the harmless

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Mongolians. On Thursday night of last week, a party of Chinamen working on Sweetland's Creek, was attacked by three white men and robbed of the insignificant sum of $30, to obtain which, they killed one Chinaman outright, two other Chinamen were so severely wounded, that both will probably die. It is also reported that a Chinaman was caught, robbed of his money, and hung on Wednesday, 10th instant, on Oregon Creek, between Pile's Flat and Camptonville. Now it is plain enough to us that the men who lay about log grogeries in small towns, during the day, are the men who perpetrate those robberies during the night. The citizens must form themselves into committees of arrest, and if caught, we have no fears, but the robbers and murderers will be justly and legally punished."

June 18.—Last evening some Chinamen arrived here on shipboard on Wednesday, were brought ashore on the tug Goliah. Their baggage was landed with them at the wharf and loaded on express wagons. The crowd then started for the Chinese quarter, the men running along in the street behind the wagons. Soon after leaving the wharf, they were attacked by a crowd of men and boys, who would disgrace a tribe of Apache Indians. Stones, clubs, potatoes and mud were thrown at them. Many were knocked down, and when they were down, the white miscreants daubed their faces with mud, being cheered by the crowds lining the sidewalks. The shameful affair grew to the porportions of a riot, and yet no effort appears to have been made to end it. Such a brutal outrage ought to be traced up, and its authors properly punished.

December 6.—From the *Petaluma Journal* of December 4: —We understand that the robbery of Chinamen is becoming a thing of quite frequent occurrence in and around Big Valley region. Within two weeks past five raids have been made in that section upon these poor creatures, many of whom are now employed in harvesting the potato crop. Last Sunday night, a camp of fourteen, in the employ of A. Walker, near Bloomfield, was visited, and the entire lot relieved of all surplus cash. The Chinamen were occupying an outbuilding near Mr. Walker; hearing a noise of distress, Mr. Walker arose and proceeded to the place, arriving just in time to see a party of four men mount their horses standing near by,

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and ride off. The Chinamen stated that they had been robbed of $200 in money.

July 5.—Just before sunrise yesterday, the people living in the vicinity of Fourth and Brannan streets were startled by loud cries, and on looking out, saw several full-grown men in the act of beating one unoffending Chinaman. The cowardly brutes knocked him down and then jumped on him with their heavy boots till he laid bleeding like one dead. A gentleman hastened out, when the cowardly ruffians scattered and fled. He followed two of the principal ones till he got a good view of their beautiful and amiable countenances, their size and the color of their hair, so that he could identify them hereafter. The Chinaman lay for some time on the the sidewalk and then worked his way back to the corner of Fifth and Brannan streets. One of the murderous scoundrels was heard to remark, "That's the third Chinaman we have whipped this morning."

July 26.—This morning three white men attacked a Chinaman on First street without any provocation and beat him in a terrible manner. When they left he lay on the ground insensible. Some persons took him into a foundry and he was soon restored to consciousness. This afternoon a white man attacked a Chinaman on Clay street near Leidesdorff, knocked him down and beat him till a young man, who witnessed the affair, arrested him. The crowd made some demonstrations for the release of the prisoner, but his captor had good backing. He marched his prisoner to the station house and charged him with assault and battery.

August 8.—Between 9 and 10 o'clock, Saturday evening, as a Chinaman was carrying a sack of rice along the sidewalk at Dupont and Sutter streets, a boy named Frank Hevron tripped him up. As he stumbled he lost one shoe. When he stepped back to pick up the shoe, a man named James Brooks struck him one or two blows on the head. Detective Officer Stone happened to be within arm's length of the assailants. He seized each one by the hand and took them to the station house.

December 28.—Wednesday afternoon a crowd of thirty to forty boys attacked a Chinaman at the corner of Fifth and Shipley streets, pursued and pelted him with stones. He tried

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to take refuge in a grocery store, but the humane proprietor drove him out. The Chinaman was hit several times and severely cut about the head and face, until, luckily, he escaped. No arrests.

February 24, 1872.—Last Sunday afternoon, a Chinese peddler was walking along Polk street, making his usual rounds, supplying his customers with vegetables. He was set upon by a lot of ragamuffins, from eight to eighteen years old. They knocked him down and spilled his vegetables in the gutter. He jumped up bleeding from the wounds and ran for refuge in a neighboring yard. The ruffians pursued him with stones and sticks until he took refuge in a house, where the tormentors besieged him until very dark, when he was able to slip away unperceived.

May 17.—San Diego, May 13.—On Saturday night, two men, supposed to be teamsters, entered a Chinese house on Fourth street and cut the throat of a Chinawoman. Three wounds were inflicted, and one of them severed the windpipe. The woman, when found by her countrymen, was cared for, but her recovery is considered doubtful. The men escaped and no clue has been obtained as to who they are, or where they have gone.

July 16.—A Chinaman was shot in the streets of Santa Barbara recently and severely injured. The *Times* remarks that the persecutions of these inoffensive people is cowardly in the extreme. No arrests were made for the act.

August 8.—Complaint is made by the Chinese that they are robbed, insulted and even murdered, with comparative impunity by the hoodlums who curse our city; not one outrage in a hundred being followed by the arrest and punishment of the perpetrator. Among the dodges resorted to frequently of late, is to snatch gold and silver pins, and other ornaments for the hair, ears, wrists or anklets of the Chinawomen, from the wearers on the streets, and trust to their ability at running, for escaping with their booty.

This morning, about nine o'clock an outrageous case of this kind occurred on Washington between Dupont and Stockton, nearly opposite the Baptist Church, in the presence of hundreds of people. A boy snatched a long gold pin or skewer from the hair of a Chinawoman and started to

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run up the street. Several Chinamen and others pursued him, and just as a Chinaman was seizing him, he turned on his pursuer, and drawing a double-edged dirk knife, struck with his whole strength at his breast. The blow missed his intended victim, and the knife was wrenched from his hand, but with the pin still in his possession, he dived into a basement, ran through the back door into an alley, and made good his escape. A number of policemen were in the ground very quickly, attracted by the outcry raised by the Chinamen, but too late to capture the juvenile candidate for State's prison or the gallows.

August 14.—A Chinaman today was walking along Stockton street, when a crowd of hoodlums assailed him, throwing stones at him, and one of the gang stole his hat and escaped. The Chinaman singled out one of the boys, gave chase, secured that boy's hat and escaped.

Los Angeles, October 24, 1871.—Officer Bilderain attempted to arrest a Chinaman for shooting another, last night, and was resisted. The officer called R. Thompson to assist him, when the Chinamen commenced firing on both sides of the street. Thompson was shot through the breast, and Bilderain through the shoulder. The Chinaman then jumped from him and escaped. A Spanish boy was shot through the leg. Thompson, who is dead, was a quiet, inoffensive citizen. The excitement is intense, and the citizens are arising. The Chinese quarter is now in a state of siege. A hundred white men are armed with Henry rifles. One Chinaman was just captured and hung by the citizens. Firing at intervals, and regular volleys are heard, firing into Chinese houses at random, and from housetops in common. Two Chinamen are killed. The Sheriff and civil authorities have given up trying to restrain the mob. The Chinese are well armed and more blood will probably flow. Another Chinaman was hung at two minutes past eight, and a third is just being taken down by the crowd to be hung. Eight Chinamen have been hung and nine more are to be hung as soon as ropes can be found. In all, fifteen Chinamen have been hung. The authorities have at last succeeded in preventing further violence. Another Chinaman was captured and put in jail. The crowd is dispersing.

June 3.—A citizen described at some length, and in indig-

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nant terms, a scene which he interrupted on Sunday afternoon near the corner of Taylor and Francisco streets. A large crowd of boys and grown persons were engaged playing ball in a vacant lot, when one of the number gave notice that two Chinamen were approaching. Immediately the whole number procured stones and lay in ambush under an embankment near the sidewalk. When the Chinamen approached the place they were immediately and suddenly attacked with a shower of stones, repeatedly struck with much violence, and it was wholly remarkable that they escaped serious injuries by running. A strengthening of police protection in the neighborhood of North Beach, as well as other points of the city, seems urgently demanded.

October 14.—On Sunday afternoon, a peaceful Chinaman was passing along Brannan street near Ninth. He was stoned by a party of young ruffians. The Chinaman turned to resent the outrage when a hoodlum struck him several times in the face, compelling a hasty retreat. During this time, about twenty white men saw the occurrence, but no officer was to be seen.

November 4.—The Chinese of Sacramento have for several days past been occupied in their Joss House, being holidays. On Sunday evening, some white rascals visited the Joss House, and after various insulting performances, one of them set fire to the immense paper image. It was fortunately discovered in time, to prevent the entire destruction of the Joss House and the loss of a great many lives. Later in the evening, some wretch standing in the crowd, cut off a Chinaman's queue close to his head. The Chinese were greatly exasperated and will exclude all visitors from their temple.

November 24.—Yesterday afternoon, as the congregation of the Tabernacle Presbyterian Church were separating after morning service, a brutal attack was made upon a Chinaman, who was quietly passing the corner of Market and Sixth streets, by three vicious young men. Members of the congregation interfered, and after considerable discussion, the Celestial escaped. No arrest was made.

April 30.—The *Gold Hill News* says:—April 28th, about thirty Chinamen were put to work yesterday on the New Caledonia, near the Baltimore mine. This morning at seven

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3 o'clock, about sixty white men ordered them to leave. Some of the Chinamen, not understanding the order, were a little tardy about starting until they saw flying rocks coming at them. They then took to flight and were pursued about a half mile by the whites. Not one injured. H. M. Yerington, general manager of the Virginia and Truckee railroad, was telegraphed to at Carson; he arrived here on the 10 o'clock train. It will be a difficult matter to induce the Chinamen to go to work in the same place again.

May 10.—The *San Bernardino Guardian* of May 6, says:—A most cruel and cowardly attempt to injure a houseful of sleeping Chinamen was made in this camp on the night of the 28th of April. These Chinamen worked for the Gold Mountain Mining Company and the company has furnished them with a house in which to cook and sleep. Several threats were made lately against the Chinamen. On the evening mentioned, some white men put under the above-mentioned house some giant powder and attached a fuse of fifteen or twenty feet and with a cigar fired the fuse. The explosion shook the windows of the buildings for over 500 yards around. The floor was torn open, all upside down; the bunks were thrown into a shapeless mass of splinters. One Chinaman was thrown out of the door some six feet from the building. Mr. Gilson, the superintendent, offered a reward of $250 for the apprehension and conviction of the guilty parties.

September 21.—*Stockton Herald* says that on Tuesday evening last, a party of tramps stopped at the cabin of a couple of Chinese and demanded whatever money they had, demanding the same at the point of a shotgun; the Chinese defended their treasure, but were at the last compelled to surrender; they say they were compelled to pass over $340. After succeeding in obtaining the money, the tramps tied the Celestials to a tree outside of their camp and immediately left; the heathens succeeded, after many hours, in releasing themselves.

June 27, 1876.—The *Truckee Republican* has this to say about the recent murder of Chinamen there: Truckee ought not to be held responsible for the acts of a few rogues who are a disgrace to the community. The matter has been thoroughly sifted and the real criminals are likely to be speedily ap-

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prehended. Our citizens, one and all, stand ready to liberally reward the detectives who are working up the case. There is no sympathy for the scoundrels, and there would be willing hands ready to string up the murderers, if their guilt could be proven.

September 27, 1876.—Nevada, Cal., September 27.—The District Court met at 10 A. M., Judge Reardon presiding. Twenty-five witnesses brought from Truckee by Sheriff Clarke on attachment, were questioned as to the cause of their absence and the Court took the cases under advisement. District Atorney E. H. Gailord made the opening speech for the people. He said that on the 17th of June, two sets of Chinamen lived at Trout Creek, some three miles from Truckee, who were engaged in cutting wood. Their cabins were alone on the banks of the creek. Two lived in one cabin and four in another. On the night of the 18th of June, six or seven men, armed with guns and pistols, set fire to the first cabin, and while it was burning, shot at the Chinamen that came out. Proceeding down to the second cabin, the men put kerosene on the building, applied a torch and put it in a blaze. As soon as the fire showed through the cracks, one Chinaman ran out and commenced putting out the fire by the light of lamps. The ambush white men fired several shots, two pierced the body of the Chinaman, from the effects of which he died. The other Chinamen remained in the cabin until the intense heat drove them out. There is a secret order in Truckee caled the Caucasian League. At a secret meeting held by them, a call was made for volunteers to oust the parties who employ Chinamen, and notify Chinamen to leave, and perform such other acts as, in their discretion, the enterprise may suggest or is needed. Two committees were appointed, and after deliberation, a raid was planned on the Chinamen on Trout Creek. The parties were divided in sets. The volunteers divided into two parties, one company of six and another three. They separated to gather arms and ammunition and then met at the house of Wilson about 11 o'clock. All met, four going immediately from the lodge, and three subsequently came. One of these was named Reed; the others were Setchell and McCullough; the other four were already prepared for the enterprise. The testimony of McCullough, one of the parties, who turned state's evidence, was taken.

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He gave the above statement, directly implicating all the defendants in the crime. McCullough, himself, stated that he had served in San Quentin, and in various county jails in Nevada.

We regret to chronicle the outrages and cowardly assaults made upon the unoffending Chinamen daily in our public streets, the publication of which places our municipal government and people in no enviable light, either at home or abroad. We ask, in the name of justice, why it is that those people are beaten and maltreated at high noon on our streets, and "no arrests" invariably recorded? On New Year's day these people were assaulted and beaten in different localities on the crowded streets in this Christian city, and we have not heard of an arrest. We give a sample: A Chinese boy, not over fourteen years of age, was attacked by a gang of street Arabs on Townsend street near Third and pelted with broken brick, on striking him in the mouth and cutting him terribly. He was knocked down and beaten in a most cruel manner. To add to the outrage, a crowd of men gathered and urged on the hoodlums. A well-known citizen, passing in a carriage, stopped and went to the assistance of the Chinaman, when he was ordered to stand back and not interfere. "No arrests." On Third street, near Market, a Chinaman was set upon by drunken hoodlums and knocked down and beaten, but got away from them and took refuge in a saloon, but was ejected by the proprietor. A large crowd collected, and when the Chinaman came out he concluded to show fight, and went for one of his assailants, armed with a door rug, which he laid over the scoundrel's shoulders until he beat a retreat. "No arrests." On Kearny near Sacramento street, one of the large plate glass windows of Ching Lee's store was demolished by a rock weighing ten pounds, which went crashing through the beautiful Chinaware exhibited in the window. "No arrests." Another Chinaman was knocked down and beaten on Pacific street, near Montgomery street at 12 M. "No arrests."—Alta, January 3, 1876.

The foregoing outrages were perpetrated before the close of 1876. Here follows some outrages that were perpetrated on a larger scale, and there is a good reason to believe that most of these excesses were the direct result of the teachings

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of demagogues who abounded on this coast since the advent of Dennis Kearny.

Daily Alta California, March 16, 1877.

CHICO, March 15.—This morning we visited the scene of an awful tragedy which was reported to have taken place at Chris Lemm's ranch, about a mile and a half from town, last evening at 9:30 o'clock. Six Chinese were employed in grubbing and clearing a piece of land adjoining this field, by contract, and were congratulating themselves that two or three days more would finish their contract and they would get their pay. Mr. Lemm informs us that they were diligent, hard working Chinamen, and had made a good job of the work they had on hand. There had been no quarreling and utmost harmony prevailing and no one entertained any idea that enemies were after them. They had built a small cabin for temporary use, of plank, and in that they lived.

The six Chinese were all in the cabin in the evening, some lying down while others were sitting around. A lighted candle was upon the small table, and it is thought that this aided the murderers in their work of assassination.

On arriving on the ground we went to the cabin and the ghastly sight which presented itself to our gaze was most appalling. On the ground at the entrance there lay a stalwart Chinaman on his face with a bullet wound in his face and blood and brains forming a pool around him. The second lay about a foot from him in nearly the same condition, while a third lay partially over the second, also wounded in the head. The fourth was lying in an opposite direction to the other three, with his face partially on the matting near the bed, with a terrible wound in his face, which showed that his murderer had been close to him. He was still alive though unconscious, and died during the time the inquest was being held. The fifth Chinamen was wounded in the breast, but managed to escape to the other side of the slough where we found him in a dying condition. He was brought to town but there is little chance for his recovery.

The sixth Chinaman was wounded in the arm by a small man or a boy. It is only a flesh wound; he says that at the time they aimed at him, he threw up his left arm and fell

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back and lay perfectly still. Thinking they had completed their work of slaughter, kerosene was poured over the place and a match applied in the hope of obliterating their bloody record. After setting the fire, they hastily made their escape, but the wounded man, who had laid perfectly still, arose after their departure and put out the flames. He made his way to town but nothing was done till morning.

It appears that the assassins were six in number and as the Chinamen described them there were five "Melican" men and one boy or "little man." They came right up to the cabin door and without any warning blazed away, each one of them picking out his victim which could be easily done as the candle on the inside showed their positions.

There is no clue to the perpetrators of this terrible outrage and the verdict of Coroner Hallet's jury is in the common phraseology that the Chinamen "came to their death by pistol shot wounds inflicted by six white men, to the jury unknown," and nothing more.

No active steps have been taken to ferret out the crimes which have been committed in and around Chico during the last three weeks, and murder and bloodshed, incendiarism and rapine are allowed to run rampant.

CHICO, March 17.—This morning a terrible feverish excitement prevailed all through town when it became known that a number of citizens had received threatening notices, These notices were all mailed last night after 8 o'clock, and read: "Get rid of your Chinese help within 15 days, or suffer the consequences.

(Signed) Committee."

The following, with reference to the reward offered by Messrs. White & Noonan for the arrest of those attempting to burn Chinatown, will be found interesting. Mr. White also received a similiar one.

"Mr. J. C. Noonan. Sir: We see that you have offered a reward of $500 for the arrest of anybody trying to burn either of the Chinatowns in Chico. Now look here, Mr. Drugs, you had better let that job out for if you cause the arrest of anybody for that or for molesting Chinamen in any manner, you will have six inches of cold steel or a half

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ounce of lead introduced into your body, or to speak plainly, you will be sent to hell inside of 24 hours. You have carried this thing far enough and we are getting tired of it, so damn your China heart, if you don't keep your infernal mouth shut, we will silence it forever, so take care and look out for the

KU KLUX KLAN."

Alta California, March 7, 1877.

Hoodlums on Jessie street last night saw a Chinaman passing along Fourth street near Jessie, he was struck by one of the hoodlums who infest that neighborhood, cutting a deep gash over the eye. A Police Officer who arrived a few minutes later, could gain no information as to who did the act. One person who was disposed to tell, was told by the crowd to shut up his mouth or he would get the same.

Alta California, May 23, 1877.

A Chinaman was knocked down and cruelly beaten by two ruffians on Dupont street, near the Turkish Baths, at half past ten yesterday morning. John Ellis sent a Policeman promptly to the spot but no information could be obtained as to the identity of the parties who committed the outrage.

Alta California, June 14, 1877.

A stabbing affair came off at the southwest corner of Kearny and Commercial streets early yesterday evening, Two Chinamen were crossing the sidewalk to go up the hill when one of three hoodlums drew a dagger, stabbed one of the Chinamen in the neck.

Examiner, July 24, 1877.

The hoodlum element, of which there is in this city so large a share, indulged in a thorough saturnalia last night. They were out in force and took advantage of sundry contingencies to give the public a sample of what they would do if undeterred by the fear of punishment. On Market street, in the open space in front of the New City Hall, a very large meeting of workingmen was held to consider the situation relative to the railroad strikes in the East. The

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conduct of both the assemblage and speakers was peaceable and orderly, and while the latter so far as we heard, did not give utterance to any incendiary exortations, in the outskirts of the crowd, however, hovered a crowd of hoodlums, among whom flourished in full luxuriance the evil feelings and villianous traits of that undesirable class of the city's population. They lounged around in great force and not finding the society of the majority of the members of the mass meeting or sentiments uttered by the speakers, congenial to their desires, they started off for a little diversion on their own hook. As they were out in such unusual numbers they felt more than usually courageous and spiteful, and concluded that they would select as their victims, the proprietors of the Chinese wash-house in the neighborhood. Their first point of attack was a Chinese wash-house on the south side of Tyler street above Leavenworth, which they bombarded with bricks and rocks, smashing the doors and windows. Officer Blakslee ran up and placed himself in front of the house and ordered the crowd to disperse, at the same time drawing his revolver and threatening to use it if any further demonstration was made. The crowd dispersed.

From this place they went to a Chinese wash-house on Geary street above Leavenworth. The occupants of this place had been warned of the approach of the crowd and they deserted the premises. The mob pelted this house, a one story frame, with rocks and brickbats. One of these struck a lighted kerosene lamp and upset it and the oil igniting some clothes on an ironing-table and in a moment the whole building was in a blaze. The fire communicated to a two story frame house on the northwest corner of Geary and Leavenworth streets. An alarm was turned in from Station 45 and the firemen responded promptly. The mob continued its demolition, going up one street and down another, smashing in every wash-house that was in their course. In the district bounded by Market, Larkin, Post and Mason streets, about fifteen washhouses were gutted. The houses were all deserted and not a Chinaman was injured in any of these places. The mob after leaving Post street, turned into Fleet street and

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then walked up to Dupont, and then to Pine, smashing any wash-house on the way. At Pine street the crowd was met by a squad of police under Captain Douglass. The mob attempted to force through the police lines, but the officers, by the use of their clubs, gave them to understand they could not pass. They retired in disorder but soon rallied again and went up Bush street to Stockton, thence along that street to Washington, where they demolished a wash-house situated just above Stockton and they broke seven lights of glass in the Chinese Mission in charge of Dr. Gibson. The mob continued on its course northward and had several encounters with the police. One at the corner of Vallejo and Stockton, and again at the North Beach Beer Gardens, and again at the corner of Mason and Broadway. A portion of the mob went to the corner of Pacific and Taylor and were about to smash in another wash-house when officer Sneider, who was on horseback, rode up and drove the crowd down the hill. By 11 o'clock the hoodlum mob came to the conclusion that it was useless to buck against the police and gave up the fight. The loss by the fire, caused by the incendiary torch, is estimated at about $3000 while the damage to the wash-houses and other places will not fall short of six or seven thousand. This would make an aggregate of about $10,000.

A Chinaman chased by the mob sought refuge in a grocery store on the corner of Geary and Leavenworth streets. The mob smashed the grocery windows and marched into the store and stole a lot of groceries.

Officer Page, while arresting a young hoodlum for battery on a Chinaman, was roughly handled and had his revolver stolen.

Examiner, July 25, 1877.

An uneasy feeling was apparent yesterday among all classes respecting a possible repetition of the lawlessness exhibited by the hoodlum element on Monday evening.

About nine o'clock a gang of hoodlums assembled on Natoma street near Fifth and commenced to stone a Chinese wash-house. The hoodlums then went over to Fifth street, opposite the Mint, where their number was augmented to nearly 1000. A squad of eight policemen came up and were

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received with hooting and yelling. They attempted to disperse the crowd but were unable to. In a few minutes afterwards another squad came to their assistance and began using their clubs with good effect. The crowd scattered in every direction, about fifty started out Mission and at Eighth they were reinforced by about 200 more. Going up Mission street they broke into four Chinese wash-houses, using a heavy scantling for a battering ram, between Eighth and Twelfth streets, the Chinese all escaping. Turning south on Twelfth street the new point of attack was on the east side of Twelfth just beyond Howard. After stoning the house and breaking all the windows, they proceeded to set fire to it. After plundering the house of its contents they proceeded to demolish the laundry on the corner of Twelfth and Bryant, but a mounted officer, who had seen them and gone to the sub-station for assistance, came up with a small squad, under Sergeant Schopp, before they had succeeded in setting fire to the building. Upon the appearance of the officers, the mob which by this time numbered several hundred, scattered in every direction.

At nine o'clock a report came into the Chief's office that the hoodlums were gathering on Twelfth street and were to attack some Chinese match factories there. A squad of police under Captain Douglass was sent out immediately, and Captain Lees and Mayor Bryant went out in a hack. They found everything quiet at the woolen mills and Lees came down to Twelfth street where about 200 of the scoundrels had sacked one of the match factories. The thieves had broken into the house and stolen $340 out of a trunk. The owner was badly beaten. Lees ordered Sergeant Shields to charge upon the mob and they dispersed in quick order.

Shortly before 11 o'clock a crowd of about 20 hoodlums sacked and burned the wash-house on the corner of Devisadero and Greenwich streets. Two Chinamen who were visiting the house started to go home. When outside they saw the gang and rushed back and gave the alarm. The whole of the Chinamen, nine in number, then rushed for the back door so as to escape that way. They were confronted by two men who held pistols in their hands and had a can of coal oil with them. The Chinamen then rushed for the front door and

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when they put in an appearance the mob fired about a dozen shots. The Chinamen escaped and hid in the surrounding bushes. One of them rushed back into the house and sought refuge in the cellar. The mob rushed in and sacked the place, taking $140 in gold from a trunk. They then set fire to the building, and it was consumed before the department could get to work, owing to its isolated position.

After the flames had been subdued, an exploration of the premises discovered the body of the Chinaman burned to a crisp, but there is still another one missing, but up to the present time the remains have not been found. A man was arrested this morning and charged with complicity in the crime.

The following account is from an extract of the Carson *Appeal* of December 28, 1878.

On the night of Wednesday a number of white men in mask, entered the cabin occupied by a couple of Chinamen, near Franktown. The Chinese were employed on rented ground, raising vegetables, etc., and it was known generally that they had a large sum secluded among their effects because they were industrious and frugal. The white men entered the cabin in the evening, just immediately before the evening meal. The Chinese were bound and gagged and tortured to compel them to show where they keep their money, but the Chinese showed no inclination to do so, the white men were very much exasperated and one of them cut off all the ears of the Chinese and they began to search every place, and finally, in one of the mattresses, they found a little bag containing the sum of $1200, in gold and silver. While they were so doing another Chinese came to see their friends and was likewise treated. The white robbers left them in this condition and the next morning some one came to see them and they were released and relieved of their agony and perilous situation. Nothing was done, because the Chinese could not give any description of the robbers.

Bulletin, January 29, 1878.

Yesterday afternoon some boys met some Chinese on the road, just outside of the City of Sacramento, and begged tobacco of them, but the Chinese had none, whereupon the

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boys set a dog on them and a fight ensued, the boys beating the Chinese with such bits as the roadway afforded, and one boy threw a potato at an old Chinese. He staggered and fell dead. The boys were seven in number, five of them have been arrested. The youngest 10 years old and the eldest 15.

AUBURN, Sept. 2nd, 1877.

All Chinatown was burned. The fire must have been incendiary, and after the fire a meeting was held by the whites to take measures to prevent the rebuilding of Chinatown.

GRASS VALLEY, Sept. 18, 1877.

Chinatown was totally burned on Monday night, at 11 o'clock. Loss $20,000, no insurance. The Chinese saved but very little and are dependant upon charity for food. Thirty houses were burned in all. The fire was of incendiary origin.

ROCKLIN, Sept. 17, 1877.

A party of citizens, about 100 in number, started with the intention of driving the Chinese out of Township No. 9. They marched up Secret Ravine but all the Chinese took alarm and departed beforehand.

PENRYN, Sept. 17, 1877.

Meetings were held to drive the Chinese from town.

ROSEVILLE, Oregon, Sept. 17, 1877.

The citizens of this town met and notified the Chinese this morning to leave town before 10 a. m. The Chinese were terribly frightened and there will not be one left after that time.

CORTLAND, Cal., Oct. 23, 1877.

Another case of incendiarism was perpetrated at Walnut Grove this morning. At four o'clock the Chinese store of Ham Wa Chong was set on fire in two places and totally destroyed. Loss $2000. An attempt to burn the same place was made some weeks since and it is supposed to have been made by the same parties. No arrest was made. Suspicion rests upon parties who have made threats to destroy property owned by people employing Chinese.

It was agreed to meet tomorrow morning and proceed up Secret Ravine and drive out the Chinese residents who had returned since the last expulsion.

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CHEYENNE, Sept. 2, 1885.—The Leader has the following special:

The largest coal mines in the entire Union Pacific system are at Rock Springs, 250 miles west of Cheyenne. The company recently imported a large number of Chinese to take the place of white men. This afternoon the entire force of white miners, about 150 strong, organized and armed with shotguns and marched to Chinatown. After firing a volley into the air, they reloaded and ordered the Chinamen to leave. The order was obeyed at once, the Chinamen fleeing to the hills like a drove of sheep, closely pursued by the miners, who fired several volleys at the fugitives with fatal effect. The Chinese quarters were then set on fire and thirty-nine houses owned by the company destroyed with their contents. The miners next visited the various mines in the Camp, unearthed all the Chinamen at work therein and bid them flee for their lives. Of 400 Chinamen here this morning not one remains; all are in the adjacent hills hiding near Green River, fourteen miles west. Some were killed outright by shots fired by the miners and many were wounded. It is said that several feeble and helpless from disease perished in the flames.

CHEYENNE, Sept. 3.—The worst has evidently not been told regarding the anti-Chinese riots in the west part of Wyoming, according to advices from Evanston. Mobs of that place looted the houses of the Chinese before setting fire to them. The outrage commenced in Mine No. 6, where three Chinese miners were attacked and killed. Then the riot commenced all over town, even women joining with loaded shotguns in their hands.

From Evanston, the Sheriff of Minta County telegraphs this evening to Governor Warren as follows: A large number of citizens with myself are satisfied that the outrages committed at Rock Springs will be repeated here and are liable to break out at any time. We need troops to protect the lives and property of our citizens. Every Chinaman in Rock Springs, over 500 in number, were driven out of town. Fifteen dead Chinamen thus far have been discovered and as many more dead bodies are probably in the ruins. Fifty houses belonging to the railroad company and fifty more owned by the Chinamen were burned. The Chinamen are

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still in the hills west of town without food and are afraid to go to Green River City, distant ten miles. Food will be sent to the starving Chinamen in the hills by the authorities.

Colonel Bee, Chinese Consul, resident in this city, received yesterday morning the following telegram from Evanston, Wy. T.:

Eleven Chinese were killed outright. There are also a large number of wounded still in the hills, many fatally wounded and probably some have died of their wounds. A large amount of property was destroyed. The Chinese are afraid to go in search of those in the hills.

Another despatch received by Consul Bee states that two or three sick Chinamen are supposed to have been burned in their dwellings. That those who escaped had on their working clothes. They saved nothing else.

The Chinese Consul state that as soon as more particulars are received, they will be laid before the Chinese Legation in Washington.

TACOMA, Wash., Nov. 3, 1885.—The Chinese population at this city, about 700 souls in all, were unlawfully and forcibly expelled from here today by a crowd of anti-Chinese mob.

San Francisco Call, Feb. 8th, 1886.

SEATTLE, Feb. 7.—Anti-Chinese meetings were held last night, at which a committee was appointed for the ostensible purpose of visiting Chinatown and ascertaining whether the city sanitary regulations were properly observed by the Chinese. This committee commenced its work at 7 o'clock this morning. Headed by the acting Chief of Police, Murphy, and accompanied by an immense crowd, which had gathered to go to Chinatown. The mode of proceding was simple. A committee would approach a Chinese house and knock at the door. When the occupants apepared they would ask the Chinese concerning the observance of the Cubic Air Law and other city ordinances. While the conversation was in progress the crowd would enter the house and begin packing the contents upon a wagon which would appear at that juncture. It was useless for the Chinese to resist, and they generally acquiesced with as good a grace as possible. When their movable goods were loaded in the wagon, they were also

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placed on board and driven to the Ocean dock, where the Queen of the Pacific was lying ready to sail for San Francisco. Not the slightest warning of this movement had been given, and the authorities were totally unprepared for it. The police force generally sided with the crowd, and made no effort to stop the work of removal.

About 400 Chinese were huddled together in the warehouse of the Ocean dock and the immense crowd prevented them from returning to their houses. Some of these houses were pillaged in the earlier part of the day, but now the militia are guarding Chinatown.

The Call, February 9, 1886.

SEATTLE, Feb. 8.—All last night the authorities were busily making preparations to assert the dignity of the law as soon as day appeared. At 3 o'clock a company of Deputy Sheriffs marched to the Ocean Dock, where the Chinamen were guarded by an anti-Chinese Committee. The members of the committee were made prisoners and guards were thrown out, protecting all the approaches to the dock. Warrants had been prepared for the leading agitators and as soon as the day broke, details of the militia served the warrants and the men were removed to jail. All of them, however, were bailed out almost as soon as the papers could be made out.

Judge Green having ordered the Sheriff to produce the Chinamen in Court at 7:15, this official marched to the Ocean Dock at 7 o'clock at the head of the Seattle Rifles, a local militia organization. The Chinamen were taken from the steamer "Queen of the Pacific" and escorted to the Court House. Few were on the streets as the procession passed through, and though hoots and yells were heard, no one attempted to interfere with its progress. The Chinamen who had been on board of the "Queen of the Pacific" were first taken to the Court-room. Judge Green addressed them and said that he had been informed that they were kept on board of the steamer against their will. He was determined to find out if this were true, declaring that the Chinamen would be protected if the authorities were able to do it. If they wanted to go they could go, but if they wanted to stay they could stay. Each Chinaman was then called by name and asked whether he wished to go or stay. Sixty-two said they would go and

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twenty-two preferred to stay. The names were called the second time, and six of those who had chosen to stay changed their minds and stated their desire to go. This left but sixteen desiring to stay. They were escorted to places of safety and the others taken back to the steamer. So far there had been no violence, but the streets were constantly growing more and more crowded. The work of loading the Chinamen on the "Queen of the Pacific" then commenced and went on vigorously. At 1:30, Captain Alexander announced that the vessel would receive no more. Fully 100 who wished to go and whose passage had been paid, were thus left on the dock. After a consultation it was decided that they should wait until the sailing of the next steamer.

Those who remained shouldered their blankets and started to return to Chinatown under the escort of the Home Guards. At the corner of Main and Commercial streets an immense crown had congregated. As the procession approached yells and hoots were heard on all sides. Finally a few in the crowd made a rush for the Chinamen, attempting to break through the lines of Home Guards. At first the guards attempted to beat back their assailants with the butts of their muskets, but the latter attempted to wrest the weapons from them. At last an order was given, a question as to whether the guards should fire was solved, for all at once a volley rang out and five men fell. The crowd receded several paces, horror-stricken. The scene for the time being was remarkable. The troops formed a hollow square, facing up and down Commercial and Main streets, and the Chinamen, in their midst, had thrown their blanket rolls on the ground at the first fire and were crouched behind them. For fully an hour the square stood facing the crowd in this manner. Not a soldier flinched, but the men kept their places apparently as cool as veterans. At last the crowd dispersed sufficiently to allow the Chinamen to continue on their way to Chinatown.

A mob of 30 to 50 white men assembled on Sept. 15th, 1903, at ten o'clock, in the town of Tonopah, Nevada, and about 11 to 12 o'clock the mob marched up to Chinese quarters. This white mob was armed with rifles and guns and pistols, knocked down the doors of the Chinese stores and houses, assaulted the occupants and demolished all furniture and

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effects, and took away several thousand dollars in money, and drove the Chinese all from town.

One of the Chinese was about 60 years of age. They pulled him along the road and killed him on the way and threw his body into a ravine about 3 miles from town, which was found the next morning. Next day the Chinese returned to town and appealed to the citizens of the town for help and protection, and some of the mob were recognized and identified and arrested, but after a trial all were acquitted.

In April, 1887, four white men, armed with Winchester rifles, murdered 34 Chinese in cold blood, on the west bank of the Snake river, northeastern part of Oregon, and robbed them of $60,000. The deed was done in the most cold blooded and revolting manner, as confessed by one of the murderers in his death bed. None was punished for this crime.

Tom Kin Yung, Military Attache of the Chinese Legation, Washington, who was sent out to San Francisco, to be attached to the Chinese Consulate here temporarily, on the night of September 12th, 1903, at 11 o'clock, after visiting the members of the Chinese Merchants' Club on Commercial street, proceeded up Clay street to return to the Consulate. He was met just in front of the Chinese Consulate by some police officers, without any provocation or cause they began to assault him, Tom Kin Yung, being a strong man, knocked one of his assailants down, but however, they were too much for him. He was bound to a post and insulted, and then after inflicting bodily injuries on him, he was hauled to jail and after he was bailed out while the case was still pending, he felt keenly over the disgrace of the arrest and assault at the hands of the police officers. Brooding over this matter to such an extent that he committed suicide on the night of Sept. 14, 1903.

From the year 1882 to 1888, hardly a day passed without an outrage of some sort being perpetrated upon the Chinese people residing on the Pacific Coast. Stoning, robbing, murdering and expelling of Chinese were of daily occurrence.

——o——

The following is a letter received by a certain Chinese official in Peking, China, from a lady in Toronto, Canada, show-

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ing what the Chinese had to go through before they are allowed to touch this land of liberty:

506 Church Street, Toronto.
August 14, 1905.

Dear Sir:

I have been a good many years engaged in teaching English to Chinese, the last six years in Yaumati, opposite Hongkong. I left on a visit to my home on the 14th of May, and as all the years, now about eighteen, I have been among Chinese I have had my whole being so roused and indignant at the way they are treated in San Francisco and Hongkong by Americans, I thought I would write and tell you something perhaps you did not know before.

In the first place, this examination of the eyes is a regular farce. It is all to extort money. I was to bring a Chinese lady, the wife of a dentist, to San Francisco. I waited for three vessels, could not go because of her eyes, and she has not gone yet. Because I am known to the Consuls in Hongkong, having often taken Chinese there, and because I am British, I had my eyes examined on the "Doric" before she sailed. The doctor never washed his hands or the glass cylinder with which he turned the eyelids over and he had examined 90 Chinese and Japanese. Now he did this right along. The consequence was that many "developed" the disease before we reached San Francisco. One bright little boy of 12, who was coming alone, had no disease till we were two days out from Honolulu. This boy is the son of a merchant in San Francisco. I went to see the father several times. I found the child was detained in the filthy sheds on the wharf. His certificate was all right. His father offered to get the best eye-doctor in San Francisco, but was not allowed. I saw the poor man the day before the "Doric" sailed, and he was nearly frantic. The poor little lad was sent back alone to China, and his father was allowed to see him for half an hour.

Almost all who come have to deposit their return fares with the steamship company, so it pays them to send them back. I was asked to go to the Chinese Bureau and tell what I saw done and what was done to myself, and Mr. Meehan told me he was very sorry about that little boy, and I distinctly told him the doctor goes about spreading the disease. It makes my blood boil to see the way the Chinese are treated and

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talked of in San Francisco. I helped all I could towards the boycott. It's useless to say it is to prevent coolies coming. I know merchants who have been detained in these filthy sheds unable to eat the rotten food and black rice, and who have been broken down in health for months afterwards. Everywhere Japanese are working more cheaply than Chinese and have to be treated now as human beings. There were some 30 Chinese returned from the "Doric". I hope to return to China in about a year, but never to see San Francisco again. I was at a meeting in one of the missions there in which a dear old man, I think he is English, said: "The only way to make Americans feel is through their pocket; boycott all you can." It's not coolies who come and have to be treated as if they were beasts, but Chinese ladies are subjected to shameful treatment in the quarantine station; at least I have heard their husbands tell what was done. The Chinese ought to have the same right to land as any one and I do hope they will not back out in regard to this boycott. I hope you will excuse the liberty I take in writing. I am not connected with any mission and teach because I love to do my little to advance China and I love the Chinese people.

Yours sincerely,

(Miss).....

I have seen no mention in any of the papers about examining the eyes.

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Here Follows a List of Principal Municipal Ordinances of Oppression, Enacted by the Law Makers of the City of San Francisco, Against the Chinese Residents:

History of the legislation of the Supervisors of the city and county of San Francisco against the Chinese, culminating in the passage of the ordinance generally known as the "Queue Cutting Ordinance," compiled by one of the counsel in the above case from the records of the Supervisors and the newspapers of the city.

An ordinance of the city and county of San Francisco "regulating lodginghouses," was passed July 29, 1870.

Section 1 required that every house, room, etc., except prisons, etc., occupied as a lodging house, etc., in which persons lived or slept, should contain within the walls of such house, room or apartment, at least five hundred cubic feet for each adult person dwelling or sleeping therein; and that any owner or tenant of any house, room or apartment who should lodge, or permit to be lodged in such room or apartment, more than one person to each five hundred cubic feet of air in such room, house or apartment, should be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and for every offense should be fined not less than ten, nor more than five hundred dollars, or imprisonment in the city prison not less than five days, nor more than three months; or both such fine and imprisonment.

Section 2 imposed the same penalty on each occupant.

Section 3 required the Chief of Police to detail an officer "to examine into and arrest."

In May, 1873, a number of Chinese were arrested under this ordinance, accounts of which and of the action of the Police Court thereon, were published in the San Francisco Evening Bulletin, a leading paper of large circulation, in its issues of May 29th, 21st and 22d, 1873, extracts from which are given below:

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(Bulletin, May 20, 18737.)

CHINESE LODGING HOUSES—INTERESTING TEST CASE INSTITUTED.

"One of the sanitary provisions of the City Code requires that every person shall have five hundred cubic feet of air in the room he or she occupies as a sleeping apartment. It is notorious that this ordinance is utterly disregarded in the Chinese quarters; where the lodging houses are more densely crowded than the steerage of an emigrant ship; and it is determined to test its validity as applicable to our Chinese population." Then follows an account of the arrest and incarceration of 45 Chinese.

Bulletin, May 22, 1873.)

CHINESE OBSTINACY.

"The Mongols have determined upon the policy of worrying the authorities in their attempt to enforce the ordinance prohibiting the unwholesome crowding of lodging houses, in the hope of rendering the effort futile.

"The large gang brought up and fined on Tuesday, with the reinforcement today, have completely filled the prison accommodations. And if the crusade is continued, the cattle pound, or some other spacious inclosure, will have to be utilized for their confinement. A few were inclined to pay the fines imposed, but were prevented from doing so by the commands of the leading men in the Chinese quarter, who declared, in substance, that they would make the city sick of prosecuting and maintaining Chinamen in prison, under this ordinance."

There was a good deal of difficulty in enforcing this ordinance, on account of the number of Chinese who violated it, and their omission to pay the fines imposed. They were arrested in great numbers and packed in cells where they had not 100 cubic feet of air to the person. They overcrowded the jails, and it was thought necessary by the authorities of the city to adopt a policy which would compel the Chinese to pay their fines. Accordingly, on the 25th of May, 1873, three ordinances were introduced in the Board, one of which was specially directed to this object. They were as follows:

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Order No —, to provide for certain regulations regarding prisoners under sentence in the County Jail of the city and county of San Francisco.

The people of the city and county of San Francisco do ordain as follows:

Section 1. Each and every male prisoner incarcerated or imprisoned in the county jail of the city and county of San Francisco under and pursuant to a judgment or conviction had by the Police Court of the city and county of San Francisco, shall, immediately upon their arrival at said county jail, under and pursuant to a judgment or sentence as aforesaid, have the hair of their head cut or clipped to a uniform length of one inch from the scalp thereof.

Section 2. It shall be the duty of the head jailer of said county jail to enforce the provisions of this order.

Order No. —, regulating the removal of the remains of deceased persons from cemeteries within the limits of the city and county of San Francisco.

The people of the city and county of San Francisco do ordain as follows:

Section 1. No person or persons, shall remove, or cause to be removed, from any cemetery or graveyard within the limits of the city and county, the remains of any deceased person, or persons, there placed or deposited, without the written permit of the Coroner of this city and county, allowing and permitting such removal being first had and obtained.

Section 2. Any and every person violating the provision of Section 1 of this order, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined a sum not less than one hundred nor more than five hundred dollars.

Order No. —, Amendatory of Subdivision 25, of Section 9, of Chapter VIII, of Order No. 697, regulating licenses for keepers of laundries and laundry offices:

The people of the city and county of San Francisco do ordain as follows:

Section 1. Subdivision 25 of Section 9, of Chapter VIII, or Order No. 697, is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

For keepers of laundries or laundry offices or wash houses, the sum of fifteen ($15) dollars per quarter for each and every man and male minor employed or engaged or connected with such laundry, or laundry office, or wash house, including

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the proprietor or proprietors, owner or owners, manager or managers, agent or agents thereof.

The introduction of these ordinances led to an exciting debate, which is reported in the Bulletin of May 27, 1873, from which we extract as follows:

"THE CHINESE PUZZLE.

"Proposed legislation to check immigration from China.—Interesting debate in the Board of Supervisors last night.

"It is generally known * * * * that to deprive a Chinaman of his queue is to humiliate him as deeply as is possible.

"It is also very generally known, that the bones of no Chinaman are permitted to remain in a foreign land and that all Chinese, before leaving their country, feel assured that, after death, no matter where they die, their bones will be taken back to mingle with their native sod.

"So strict are all Chinese on these two points, that it is believed if they were prevented from wearing their queues here, and if after death their bones were denied transportation to their native land, the immigration of this superstitious people would be effectually stopped, and a reflux commenced from our shores to the Flowery Kingdom.

"Sharing this belief, Supervisor Goodwin proposed at the meeting last night the following ordinances."

(Then follow copies of the said ordinances.)

"All of these were passed to print, after a few fervid remarks from Mr. Goodwin."

Mr. Story offered a resolution, preceded by a long preamble, proposing a pledge not to employ Chinese labor * * * and in explanation and support of this resolution, said, "that the resolutions adopted at the last meeting of the Board, calling for congressional action on the Chinese evil, would have no effect and he didn't believe any man who voted for them thought they would. The treaty between the United States and China was highly advantageous to our government, and it was not to be supposed that it would be abrogated.

"The Chinese evil should not be attacked from a political standpoint, with a view to making political capital. The men who have been most eager to denounce Chinamen and even

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to abuse them are generally found patronizing and accepting the patronage of Chinamen. It is an easy matter to ascertain the owners of the real estate in Chinatown, and if a list of such owners should be made, it would be found that most of them are anti-Coolie men. The hackmen, and others who assault Chinamen are the first to rush to the wharves upon the arrival of steamers from China, to make a few dollars by transporting the immigrants to Chinatown.

"The opposition and denunciation of such men is not based upon principle.

"The resolution offered by Mr. Storey met the question properly."

The *Alta California*, another leading journal of San Francisco, of May 27, 1873, also contained an account of these proceedings, which commences as follows:

PAGAN ORDINANCES.

No More Pigtails—No Further Consignment of Dead Celestials to the Flowery Kingdom—Proposed Tax on Chinese Laundries—A Practical Suggestion.

The most important subject for consideration by the Board of Supervisors, last evening, appeared to be the Chinese question. The members felt ripe for the subject. When the order for motions and resolutions was reached, Supervisor Goodwin offered the following ordinance, which will make the sleeping order operative.

(Then follows a copy of the Queue Cutting Ordinance.)

It was passed to print.

"NO MORE DEAD CHINAMEN FOR CHINA."

"Mr. Goodwin also offered the following ordinance, which was passed to print. Its object is to prevent the shipment to China of the remains of deceased Chinamen."

(Then follows the Disinterment Ordinance.)

"A BLOW AT CHINESE LAUNDRIES."

"An amendment to the order regulating municipal licenses was also offered by Mr. Goodwin, as follows."

(Then follows a copy of the Laundry Ordinance.)

"Mr. Kenny offered an amendment to the order regulating licenses for keepers of laundry and laundry offices, who employ no vehicle drawn by animal power, shall pay $15.00 per

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quarter license. No other change is made in the ordinance."

(The large laundries send their washing home in wagons, and pay $3.00 per quarter; the Chinese convey theirs in baskets. The amendment was adopted.)

"Mr. Goodwin supported his ordinance by saying that 'the general Government had so tied our hands by the treaty with China, that we must depend entirely upon local legislation to discourage the immigration of Chinese, who are coming here now at the rate of two thousand a month. He had no doubt that the Coroner would do his duty, as contemplated by one of the ordinances, and if he failed, a gentleman would be elected who will regard the wishes of the people.'"

[Then follows report of Mr. Story's resolution and the debate thereon.)

All these ordinances were passed to print. The law requires that such orders must be printed in the official journal five days, with the yeas and nays, before coming up for final action.

On the 2d of June, 1873, the Bulletin had the following article on the subject of one of these ordinances:

"THE SUPERVISORS ON HAIR CUTTING."

"The Board of Supervisors have passed to print an ordinance requiring the cropping of the hair of every person who is serving a term in the jail under a criminal conviction. The ordinance, while it nominally makes no discrimination as to race or condition, is aimed especially at the Chinese. The enforcement of the Sanitary Ordinance against the overcrowding of Chinese is just and ought to be certain. But it should be enforced lawfully. The Chinese go to jail, in most cases, rather than pay the fine. The readiness to be fed and lodged for a week or more, at the public expense, extracts all the real penalty there is in the Sanitary Law. Five hundred or a thousand Chinese going willingly to jail, and rather liking the opportunity for free board and lodging, quite superior to their own miserable accommodations, presents a new phase of the question. The judgment has no penalty. The Chinese who offend against the ordinance refuse to pay the fine, but go to jail and board it out. The Supervisors, casting about for some means of relief, have hit upon the plan of cropping the hair. White criminals would

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care nothing about this, and the ordinance would probably never be enforced against them. The loss of a pigtail is a great calamity to the Chinese. It is his national badge of honor. If it is cut off, he is maimed. He will not venture home without it, and becomes a fixture from very necessity. The Sanitary regulation enforced in this way is a kind of boomerang, which comes back with telling effect. Whatever power the Board has to make or enforce a penal ordinance, is found under Article V, the 74th Section of Consolidated Act.

The editor then quotes the language of the Consolidation act and the 16th and 17th sections of the Civil Rights Act of May 31, 1870, and comments as follows:

"It might be well for the Supervisors to read over these sections carefully. It would be a novel sight—twelve Supervisors marching up to the Federal Court to answer to an indictment for misdemeanor, and then marching to jail for a year, with a thousand dollar blister by way of a fine besides.

"Some other way must be found to enforce a Sanitary law than the one which the Supervisors have devised.

"If Chinamen insist on violating a just sanitary law, their pigtails cannot be safely cut off, but they can be made to work out their fine in cleaning the very city which they have defiled. And this and other like punishments would probably make them respect the law."

On the evening of June 2d, two of these ordinances were passed—the "Queue Cutting" and the "Laundry" ordinance.

In the Bulletin of June 3, 1873, there is a report of the proceedings and debate, which is as follows:

JOHN CHINAMAN AGAIN.

Another lively discussion on the Pigtail Order in the Board of Supervisors; the order finally passed.

"In the Board of Supervisors last night the order passed to print at the last meeting for clipping the hair of prisoners at the county jail came up for final action.

"Mr. Forbes moved that the order be indefinitely postponed.

"Mr. Shrader moved that the order be finally passed.

"Mr. Goodwin seconded the latter motion.

"Mr. Menzies suggested that the order might be illegal,

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as stated by the Bulletin, and thought it ought to be referred to the City and County Attorney for his opinion.

"Mr. Forbes then spoke as follows: I shall not be considered inconsistent in opposing the resolution before us. I have unhesitatingly opposed all the so-called anti-Chinese resolutions introduced at our meetings, because I believe they originated in a spirit and temper unconstitutional, unworthy, reprehensible and are calculated to stir up and incite a certain class of our population to acts of violence and bloodshed. Nations achieve greatness by magnanimous acts, and our own nation has made its name peculiarly glorious by adopting that policy. Let us, as a part of our nation, consider this whole matter, in a spirit of liberality and unprejudiced deliberation of which we will not have cause to be ashamed. The whole letter and spirit of these resolutions are illegal, narrow-minded, contemptible and utterly unworthy the sanction of this body. We ought not to do an illegal act by imposing unequal taxation, which the celebrated "one-horse," ordinance contemplates, nor should we permit ourselves to favor the passage of the barbarous orders, as to queue cutting and disinterments, which breed a spirit only worthy of savages. I pity the man who conceived and brought forth these remarkable orders.

"We learn that the question of foreign immigration has been the source of much anxiety to nations, 'from the earliest period of history'. Even in our own land, and within the present century, agitations and excitements have sprung up as the result of the great influx of Irish and German population. In Boston, that hotbed of propriety, it even went so far that upon a commission being granted to an Irish Company, the Montgomery Guard, the other companies of American Militia marched off Boston Common as the Irish Company marched on. And then followed an excitement and alarm as to German immigration, which was just as absurd and groundless as time has proved, and only good results have followed where evil was predicted. So has it been, so will it ever be. Our free land to her praise may it be be said, has ever thrown wide the door to immigrants from all nations.

" 'I warm and welcome hearty' have all received, and from this has grown up the wonderful prosperity and progress which fully challenges the admiration of the world.

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"The grand progressive battle cry of our land has been 'Civil and Religious Liberty.' It is the key-note of our Constitution. People of all nations, kindred tribes and tongues, meet here upon one grand, common, neutral ground. Our forefathers sought, found and established this priceless boon, and its great principles have been defended and maintained even unto the shedding of blood.

"Shall we now turn our backs on this center strength of our Republic at the suggestion of some of our members, who have awakened suddenly from 'pleasing dreams to a prophetic realization of great dangers'? Can we, for any selfish, political aims or aggrandizement, do violence to our conscience by undertaking to follow a false course in regard to 'the great right'? Are we to be governed by the narrow, selfish aims and wishes of others themselves, or most of them, indebted to the enjoyment of this very right they would now destroy for all they are and all they have?

"Shall we yield to the sway of political wireworkers, who, if Chinamen could vote, would obsequiously fawn upon them, as they now do upon the once despised and hated negro? Shall we follow the directions of these debauched political hacks and degrade ourselves by taking their side in opposition to the grand principles which have mainly contributed to make us a great nation? For one, I do not propose to lend my aid or influence to any such degrading purposes.

"For argument's sake, let us suppose these illegal, unconstitutional ordinances (which are also contrary to the Constitution of the United States) are passed, enforced and followed by others still more degrading, which would drive all the Chinese out of this state within sixty days, (this period having been fixed as the minimum limit of time for this exodus by some of our newspapers), what would follow? I answer:

"First.—All the manufacturing interests of our state would be seriously embarrassed, and most of the manufactories closed.

"Second.—The work of building railroads would immediately come to a standstill.

"Third.—The growing crops of California could not be gathered.

"Fourth.—Fully one-half of our dwellings in San Fran-

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cisco would be closed, and last, though not least, I fear some of the members of this Board, would fail to put in an appearance at our meetings, for the lack of clean shirts.

"It strikes me it would be a most lamentable failure on our part, as a matter of State policy to drive from us this force, be it white, black or yellow, which is of so much importance.

"Now do I propose to make a plea in favor of Chinese emigration, per se; I do not favor their coming, but they are here—here under the provisions of a treaty and in common with others, have rights; whatever these rights may be, I would maintain and respect them.

"I believe that Congress, at our request (a small part of the population of California and San Francisco), will not hastily abrogate the provisions of the existing treaty between the United States and China, which is generally admitted to be favorable to us as a nation, and which has only recently been secured after long years of diplomacy and at great expense; it appears unreasonable for us to believe otherwise.

"Mr. Menzies replied warmly to Mr. Forbes. He said the latter's views were idealistic, and that there was no common sense in anything he said. This, instead of being a white man's country, was getting to be nothing more than a province of China. Even, on the ranches, the Chinese are driving away white labor. The question is, are we better off with white laborers or Chinamen? He, Menzies, counseled no violence towards the Chinese; but though the plan suggested by the proposed order was a good one."

"Mr. Forbes responded, that he thought his remarks were about as practical and sensible as those of Mr. Menzies. He declared that he had not favored the immigration of Chinese; but thought, that the proposed order was unworthy of an enlightened people.

(Rev. O. Gibson was allowed to read a plea for the Chinese, which is omitted.)

"Mr. Shrader made some very earnest remarks in support of the proposed order. * * * He declared that the most stringent measures should be taken to check the increase of our Chinese population.

"Mr. King spoke briefly in support of the proposed order. He said he held up both hands in favor of its passage.

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"Mr. Taylor said, if the order was so amended as to take effect in thirty days he would vote for it; otherwise not.

"Mr. Story said, it was idle for the Board to pass an order that on its very face was unconstitutional.

"On motion of Mr. Goodwin, the order was so amended as to make it the duty of the Sheriff, instead of the Jailer to execute it.

"The motion was then put on the motion to refer to the City and County Attorney, which was lost. The order was then finally passed."

In the Alta California of June 3, 1873, appears a report of the same debate, which is headed:

"The pagan ordinances—The hair-cutting ordinance discussed—Sound opinions of Supervisor Forbes—Views of Supervisor Menzies and others—The Chinese define their position—The order amended by making the Sheriff Chinese hairdresser, and finally passed—Other ordinances, and their disposal."

It is stated that "they proved the subject of a long and acrimonious debate. Mr. Menzies moved that the ordinances be laid over one week, and that it be referred to the City and County Attorney for his opinion as to its legality."

"This was lost, Mr. Goodwin explaining that it was drawn by the Deputy City and County Attorney.

"Mr. King, in explanation of his vote said the question had long occupied the attention of the people and he had nothing to take back. He never employed Chinamen, and if compelled, would wash his own shirt before one of them would do it. He said, 'if the Chinese respected the Sleeping ordinance, this one would not be passed.'

"Mr. Story said, he expected the members would approach the subject with dignity, and not cater to public opinion, so-called. He thought men sent to the County Jail for twenty-four hours should not have their hair cut.

"Mr. Taylor took the same view."

The two ordinances which were passed were vetoed by the Mayor, Hon. William Alvord.

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